

BYZANTION

REVUE INTERNATIONALE DES ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

fondée en 1924

par Paul GRAINDOR et Henri GRÉGOIRE

TOME LXVI
(1996)

Fascicule 1

VOLUME OFFERT
À

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LEROY-MOLINGHEN

*Publié avec l'aide financière du Ministère de l'Éducation,
de la Recherche et de la Formation de la Communauté française
et de la Fondation Universitaire de Belgique*

BRUXELLES
1996

ABRÉVIATIONS AUTORISÉES

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AB	<i>Analecta bollandiana</i>
ACO	E. SCHWARTZ, <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i>
AHR	<i>The American Historical Review</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
B-NJ	<i>Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
Bsl.	<i>Bzantinoslavica</i>
Byz.	<i>Byzantion</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CA	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CJ	<i>Codex Justinianus</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Studies</i>
ΔΧΑΕ	<i>Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας</i>
EEBS	<i>Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
EO	<i>Echos d'Orient</i>
FHG	C. MÜLLER, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
JG	I. et P. ZEPOS, <i>Jus Graecoromanum</i> , I-VIII, Athènes, 1931.
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖs	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistischen Gesellschaft</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
Mansi	J. D. MANSI, <i>Sacrorum conciliorum noya et amplissima collectio</i> .
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>

<i>MM</i>	F. MIKLOSICH et J. MÜLLER, <i>Acta et diplomata medii aevi</i> , Vindobonae, 1860-1890.
<i>NE</i>	<i>Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων</i>
<i>OCA</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>ODB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , Oxford, 1991
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie (Pauly-Wissowa)</i>
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue Historique</i>
<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue d'Orient Chrétien</i>
<i>RSBN</i>	<i>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studi e Testi</i>
<i>Syntagma</i>	G. RALLIS et M. POTLIS, <i>Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων</i> , I-VI, Athènes, 1852-1859.
<i>TIB</i>	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i>
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
<i>VV</i>	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>Zbor.</i>	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta Srpska Akademija Narodna</i>

MINIATURES AND LITURGY : EVIDENCE FROM THE NINTH-CENTURY CODEX *PARIS. GR. 510* (*)

The relationship between images and the orthodox liturgy has been a major theme in Byzantine art historical scholarship since 1948, when Otto Demus published *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*. Most work has focussed on the interaction between the orthodox ritual and the mosaics, frescoes and icons in religious buildings (1), but the impact of the liturgy on manuscripts has not been ignored (2). One important group that demonstrably reveals such impact is made up of the so-called liturgical *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus, in which a selection of Gregory's texts are arranged to follow the order of the liturgical year. Nearly 40 of these books contain illustrations, many conditioned by the liturgy (3). While the miniatures in the liturgical *Homilies* are not related to those in *Paris. gr. 510* — a ninth-century copy of all of Gregory's sermons — two earlier studies have explored some of the liturgical layers in the Paris manuscript: Shigebumi Tsuji has suggested that the enigmatic relationship between the *Homilies* text and certain gospel images in the manuscript can sometimes be resolved by recourse to the liturgy, and Anna Kartsonis has seen the impact of the Easter service in the emphasis on John in the miniature of the crucifixion (f.30v) (4). I wish to argue here that, despite some correlations

(*) I take this opportunity to thank C. J. Wickham for his comments on an early draft of this paper.

(1) E.g. G. BABIĆ, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines, fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques*, *Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques*, 3 (Paris, 1969); the articles collected in P. UNDERWOOD, ed., *The Kariye Djami*, 4, Princeton, 1975, and N. ŠEVČENKO, *Icons in the Liturgy*, *D.O.P.*, 45 (1991), pp. 45-57.

(2) E.g. the studies reprinted in K. WEITZMANN, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, London, 1980.

(3) G. GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, 6 (Princeton, 1969).

(4) S. TSUJI, *The Gospel Scenes in the Illustration to the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, *Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 510*, Part I: *The Iconography*, *Bijutsushi, Journal of the Japan Art History Society*, 20, 2 (1970), in Japanese with English

of this kind, the pattern of the liturgy was relatively marginal for the organization of *Paris. gr. 510*; in contrast, however, certain parallels between the two can nonetheless tell us something new about how narrative was structured in the period around 900.

The *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (*B.N. gr. 510*) was never a public document; it was not widely known even to the Byzantine élite. As the only preserved illustrated manuscript from ninth-century Byzantium that can be securely dated (879-882), localized, and attached to the Constantinopolitan court, *Paris. gr. 510* has received more attention than its original audience — a restricted circle clustered around the patriarch Photios and the emperor Basil I — could ever have imagined⁽⁵⁾. The total number of Byzantines who saw the manuscript during its entire 550 year stay in Constantinople is almost certainly fewer than the number of people who are familiar with it at this minute. While this means that we cannot draw upon the miniatures of the Paris *Homilies* as if they were some sort of public record, we can ask how they met the expectations of a small group of Byzantines in the late ninth century.

The emperor Basil I (867-886) and the patriarch Photios (858-867, 877-886) were the crucial players in this group; their positions required them, as well, to be intimately involved in the elaborate ritual of the 'imperial' church service at Hagia Sophia. Indeed, all members of the circles in which these two men moved shared the experience of the Byzantine liturgy, and so too did the painters responsible for the miniatures. The issue addressed here, then, is to what extent this shared vocabulary shaped or interacted with the biblical miniatures in the Paris *Homilies*. There are a number of ways to approach this question, and the traditional one is to look at the correlation between images and specific texts cited in the liturgy. This is not the only productive manner

summary. I thank Prof. Tsuji for providing me with this article, otherwise unavailable to me here; because the English summary is brief, and I do not read Japanese, I apologize to Prof. Tsuji if I am doing his arguments any injustice. A. KARTSONIS, *Anastasis, The Making of an Image*, Princeton, 1986, pp. 144-145.

(5) See S. DER NERSESSIAN, *The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510, D.O.P.*, 16 (1962), pp. 197-228; L. BRUBAKER, *Politics, Patronage and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (B.N. gr. 510), D.O.P.*, 39 (1985), pp. 1-13. On later Byzantine access to *Paris. gr. 510*, see my forthcoming monograph on the manuscript, *Image as exegesis*.

in which to examine the relationship between liturgy and images in *Paris. gr. 510*, but it is important to establish the limits of this strategy before turning to other, structural, parallels.

In a manuscript well known for miniatures that comment upon the text as often as they illustrate it directly, and that betrays the heavy involvement of a Byzantine patriarch as well (6), one might expect significant patterns to emerge from the process of correlating miniatures and liturgy. In fact, however, few do. Table 1 sets all relevant readings from the *typikon* of Hagia Sophia — the liturgical prescription closest in date and place of origin to *Paris. gr. 510* (7) — against the appropriate biblical scenes illustrated in the manuscript (8). The table immediately makes clear that the sequence of miniatures in *Paris. gr. 510* has no obvious relationship to the order of the liturgical year: unlike the liturgical *Homilies*, neither the sermons nor the selection of scenes to be illustrated in the Paris Gregory has been arranged to correlate with the liturgical calendar.

Scenes within individual miniatures (table 2), however, are occasionally linked by liturgical association. Folio 30v (fig. 1) illustrates the crucifixion, the entombment and the deposition, and the chairete, episodes recounted in the liturgy on three successive days: Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. The miniature originally accompanied Gregory's sermon *On Easter* (9), and so the narrative makes perfect sense as it stands. It is indeed possible that the chairete was substituted for the equally common anastasis as the final scene in the sequence because the two Marys' meeting with the risen Christ figures in the gospel lections of the holy week liturgy while the anastasis

(6) See references in preceding note.

(7) J. MATEOS, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols., *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 166-167 (Rome, 1963).

(8) This and the following lists do not encompass all scenes, or even all miniatures, in *Paris. gr. 510*, which includes many non-biblical images. Further, a number of biblical scenes illustrated do not appear in the liturgy: i.e. the history of Joseph (f. 69v); the massacre of the innocents (f. 137r); the penitence of David and Jeremiah's removal from the pit (f. 143v); Christ among the doctors (f. 165r); Jacob and the angel and the anointment of David (f. 174v); the judgement of Solomon (f. 215v); Joshua and the angel, Joshua stopping the sun and moon, and the water miracle of Moses (all on f. 226v); the conversion of Saul (f. 264v); the parable of the fig tree (f. 310v); the history of Samson (f. 347v); the victory over the Amalekites and the fall of Jericho (f. 424v); and Daniel in the lions' den (f. 435v).

(9) For the text, see *Sources Chrétiennes*, 247, pp. 72-83. For the location: DER NERSESSIAN, *Illustrations*, pp. 217-218, and KARTSONIS, *Anastasis*, pp. 140-146.

does not ⁽¹⁰⁾. It is also possible that the chairete was selected because, unlike the anastasis, it enabled the miniaturist to demonstrate that divinity could be seen by earthbound humans, a point visualized repeatedly in *Paris. gr.* 510. In any event, a different type of link with the liturgy is provided by the arrangement of the miniature itself. The central axis runs from the crucified Christ on Golgotha, the base of which extends down into the middle register, to the curiously isolated figure of John in the central tier, and thence to the risen Christ of the bottom panel. Kartsonis observed that the figure of John ties together the crucifixion and the resurrection; as already stated, she suggested that one reason for this alignment was the major role played by the gospel of John in the Easter liturgy ⁽¹¹⁾.

The miniature on f. 143v (fig. 2) provides a thematically unified complement to the sermon it accompanies, *To the people of Nazianzus and the prefect* ⁽¹²⁾. The two scenes of the top register — Jeremiah raised from the pit and the penitence of David — do not appear in the typikon at all, and two more (the healing of the paralytic at Bethesda and the healing of the woman with the issue of blood, both in the bottom tier) appear there in isolation. Two scenes, however, visualize episodes read in the liturgy on succeeding Sundays: the raising of Jairus's daughter (the final scene on the page) on the 23rd Sunday after Pentecost, the Parable of the Good Samaritan (which expands over the entire second register) on the 24th. The decision to include these narratives had little or nothing to do with liturgical imperatives ⁽¹³⁾; but nonetheless, as on f. 30v, the liturgical connection was stressed compositionally: Christ as Good Samaritan and Christ raising

(10) Almost without exception, the liturgical editions preface the sermon with an image of the anastasis: GALAVARIS, *Liturgical Homilies*, pp. 70-78.

(11) KARTSONIS, *Anastasis*, pp. 144-145. In addition to the liturgical connections, f. 30v is linked with ideas expressed in contemporary sermons: it preserves the first known image of the deposition in Byzantine art, and this coincides with the appearance of the theme in sermons, notably the influential homily on the death and resurrection of Christ by George of Nikodemia (see H. MAGUIRE, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, Princeton, 1981, pp. 97-101) and the eleventh homily of Photios (ed. B. LAOURDAS, *Photiou Homilai, Hellenika*, suppl. 12 [Thessaloniki, 1959], pp. 109-112; trans. C. MANGO, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, D.O.S.*, 3 [Washington, D.C., 1958], pp. 198-202).

(12) *PG*, 35, col. 964-982.

(13) Mercy and compassion, and the benefits of humility for those in positions of authority, are the themes of the page: see *Image as exegesis* (note 5 above).

the daughter of Jairus are aligned vertically along the central axis, and the halo of the lower Christ extends into the top border of the register, nearly touching the feet of Christ as Good Samaritan as they protrude down into the same frame.

Six miracles performed by Christ, arranged in three registers, preface Gregory's homily *Against Eunomians* on f. 170r (fig. 3) (14). Gregory mentions none of the miracles pictured in his sermon (15), which defends the doctrine of the trinity against the assertions of Eunomias, an Arian who denied Christ's equality with the Father (God). Rather than illustrating the sermon directly, Der Nersessian persuasively argued that the miracle sequence shown functions as pictorial exegesis meant to corroborate Gregory's polemic against the Eunomians by emphasizing Christ's divinity (16); it also expresses the anti-heretical theme of the sermon. The exegetical role played by the miniature makes the possibility of liturgical influence attractive, and, indeed, five of the six scenes emerge in the readings after Pentecost: four appear in the Matthew texts and another occurs in the Luke readings. Further, the healings of the centurion's servant and of Peter's mother-in-law — readings for the 4th Saturday and 4th Sunday after Pentecost — are joined in the middle register. The arrangement of scenes in the top register is not, however, so neat: the healing of the leper, a lenten reading, joins the healings of the hydrophobic and the demoniacs (29th Saturday and 5th Sunday after Pentecost, respectively). If liturgical associations conditioned the selection of scenes on f. 170r, they did not affect the arrangement of scenes on the page in any uniform fashion; while we may suspect liturgical influence (17), it is evidently coordinated with the overarching themes of the miniature as a whole: opposition to heresy and Christ's divinity.

The manner in which the miniaturist combined scenes to express this dual theme can be seen in the first register. Christ healing the leper was broadly interpreted as signifying redemption (18), but it also appeared in anti-heretical contexts: for example, in his hymn *On the*

(14) *S.C.*, 250, pp. 70-99.

(15) Nonetheless, f. 170r is certainly in its original and intended location: the homily text begins on its verso and continues without lacunae through f. 174r.

(16) DER NERSESSIAN, *Illustrations*, p. 205.

(17) See too TSUJI, *Gospel Scenes*.

(18) E.g. by Romanos: see *S.C.*, 110, pp. 360-379 and commentary at p. 255, and *S.C.*, 114, p. 45.

Leper, chanted on the third Wednesday after Easter, Romanos made the point that the healing proved the Arians wrong by revealing Christ's divinity, an observation that links this miracle closely to Gregory's themes (19). By the ninth century, when Arians *per se* were no longer a pressing concern and the name was used as a general pejorative, the healing of the leper was used as an excuse to harangue Jews (20) — but whichever interpretation was meant here, the scene encapsulates both themes of the miniature neatly. The healing of the hydrophobic was also associated with invectives against the Jews, for it was a "Sabbath miracle" against which the leaders of the synagogue protested (21): again, the scene makes an anti-heretical statement at the same time as it celebrates Christ's divinity. Finally, Christ's healing of the demoniacs reveals his triumph over the root of all heresies, Satan (22). The scenes of the first register thus all do double duty: they demonstrate the divinity of Christ while simultaneously stressing his victory over heresies.

The second register focusses on the theme of Christ's divinity, and the power of faith in Christ. It is here that the liturgical impact seems strongest. But the two scenes were not only related in the liturgy (23); they also appeared together in biblical exegesis as an example of Christ's impartiality toward men (the centurion's servant) and women (Peter's mother-in-law) (24). Christ walking on water, the final Matthew text on f. 170r, also plays to the theme of the power of faith while continuing the emphasis on liturgical readings from the period after Pentecost. While liturgical associations do indeed seem to have influenced the selection of at least some of the scenes on f. 170r, they remain but one of several strands important for understanding the miniature.

(19) *S.C.*, 110, pp. 360-379, esp. p. 376 (strophe 16).

(20) E.g. by Photios, who devoted an entire section of his *Amphilochia* (question 60) to this miracle: *PG*, 101, col. 409-416.

(21) See, e.g. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Homily on John 37: 2* (*PG*, 59, col. 209-210). Commentary in G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 1916, p. 65.

(22) See, e.g., Romanos's hymn for the fifth Wednesday after Easter, *On the Possessed*: *S.C.*, 114, pp. 54-77, esp. pp. 62 and 70 (strophes 9 and 19).

(23) It might also be noted that while Matthew's version of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law is the relevant liturgical reading, the version in *Paris. gr.* 510 actually follows the account in Mark.

(24) See, e.g., MILLET, *Recherches*, p. 58 citing Kerameos, *PG*, 132, col. 828.

Folio 196v (fig. 4) brings together another group of liturgically related episodes: the raising of Lazarus, the supper at the house of Simon, and the entry into Jerusalem. The typikon of the Great Church entitles the sixth Saturday in Lent the "Saturday of St. Lazarus" and the readings for the day both commemorate Lazarus and anticipate Palm Sunday, celebrated the next day. The troparion reads "You have raised Lazarus from among the dead, O Christ God. That is why, like the children, we carry the symbols of victory, and sing to you, O vanquisher of death, Hosannah in the highest, blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord!" (25). Another reference to Palm Sunday appears in the evening lection, from Zachariah 9: 9, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion; proclaim aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, the king is coming to thee, just, and saving; he is meek and riding on an ass" (26). The same linkage is, not surprisingly, made in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*, which titles the ceremony for the sixth Saturday in Lent the "Vigil of Palm Sunday" (27). The Palm Sunday service itself describes the supper at Simon's house and the entry into Jerusalem and, in his two hymns *On Lazarus*, Romanos cements the connection between all three episodes portrayed on f. 196v (28). In aggregate, the scenes form an introduction to Christ's passion authorized by numerous sources. While the combination is certainly sanctioned by the liturgy (29), the compositional grouping had such resonance in its period that the selection of scenes seems almost over-determined.

Folio 52v depicts the history of Adam and Eve. The liturgical readings that recount this narrative occur on successive weekdays at the beginning of Lent, but the decision to use an abbreviated account of the temptation and fall to illustrate Gregory's first sermon *On Peace* was based on an exegetical interpretation of that homily rather than a desire to visualize the lenten liturgy, which anyway simply repeats the Genesis narrative in its Old Testament readings (30). This, then,

(25) MATEOS, *Typicon*, II, pp. 62-65.

(26) *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65. This prophetic passage is also quoted in the gospel accounts of the entry into Jerusalem.

(27) *De cerimoniis*, I, 40 (31): ed. A. VOGT, *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies*, I, Paris, 1967, pp. 158-159.

(28) MATEOS, *Typicon*, II, pp. 64-65; S.C., 114, pp. 160 and 214.

(29) So too TSUJI, *Gospel Scenes*.

(30) See DER NERSESSIAN, *Illustrations*, pp. 208-209; BRUBAKER, *Politics, Patronage and Art*, pp. 8-10.

is a coincidental parallel : both the liturgy and the miniature respond to the same text for different reasons. Similarly, the miniature on f. 360r is internally unified and inspired by allusions in the text (31) ; the fact that the episodes presented were recounted as part of the run of Genesis readings in the third and fourth weeks of Lent, respectively, has no evident bearing on their inclusion here.

Three more folios provide equally negative evidence. A number of the scenes collected on f. 87v formed part of the gospel readings in the period after Pentecost, but beyond this do not seem to form any coherent liturgical pattern : while three come from the Matthew readings, one is taken from John, and the fifth appears in the Luke sequence. Nor do they follow any weekly rotation. They share the page with episodes from the life of Gregory's father, and in fact were chosen to illustrate the virtues of Gregory *père* by analogy (32). The gospel scenes provide an appropriate visual frontispiece to the funeral oration for Gregory senior ; the nebulous liturgical connections are coincidental.

From a liturgical point of view, the connection on f. 316r (fig. 5) is between the healing of the paralytic at Capernaum and the raising of the widow's son at Nain, which appear together in the lower register of the page. Both, however, are paired with scenes in the upper register — the Capernaum healing works with the healing at Siloam above it to provide a visual commentary on baptism and heresy, while the raising of the widow's son is juxtaposed with the parable of the widow's mite — and these vertical alliances seem, in the end, more significant than the horizontal meeting of episodes associated with the 18th Saturday and 19th Sunday after Pentecost.

Finally, three of the four scenes on f. 310v appear, widely spaced, in the readings after Pentecost. The theme of this miniature seems, however, to have determined the subject matter of the scenes : it is one of the most overtly anti-Jewish pages in *Paris. gr. 510* (33), and the liturgical connections again are tenuous and almost certainly coincidental.

In short, the organization of the liturgy rarely impacts directly on

(31) As with f. 52v, the miniature provides a close exegetical parallel to Gregory's text, the third oration *On Peace* : *S.C.*, 270, pp. 218-259. See DER NERSESSIAN, *Illustrations*, 209-210 ; and *Image as exegesis* (note 5 above).

(32) DER NERSESSIAN, *Illustrations*, pp. 199-200 ; *Image as exegesis* (note 5 above).

(33) See *Image as exegesis* (note 5 above).

Paris. gr. 510 ⁽³⁴⁾. Though it occasionally affects composition, liturgical influence on the selection and juxtaposition of scenes remains minimal ⁽³⁵⁾. The same is true when we compare the relative weight given to different parts of the bible in the scenes selected for illustration and for inclusion in the liturgy (table 3); nonetheless, the ways that Old Testament and New Testament narratives were handled reveals a structural correlation between the liturgy and *Paris. gr. 510* that is considerably more interesting than the sporadic incidence of direct parallels might suggest.

Biblical scenes appear in 30 of the 46 miniatures of *Paris. gr. 510*, and the number of scenes from the Old and New Testaments is roughly equivalent, though the selection is weighted slightly toward the latter (table 4). In all respects save one, the ways that Old Testament and New Testament scenes were used scarcely differ ⁽³⁶⁾. The distinction appears when we look at the way narrative is used and distributed.

(34) The same has recently been said of the ninth-century marginal psalters: K. CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 123.

(35) *Paris. gr. 510*, then, tells us little about the development of the so-called feast cycle in Byzantium, the existence of which has been called into question: T. MATHEWS, *The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration*, *Perkins Journal* (July, 1988), pp. 11-21.

(36) Of the four full page miniatures, two show Old Testament episodes (ff. 285r and 438v) and two show events from the New Testament (ff. 75r and 301r). Of the three thematic sequences depicted in grids, f. 340r is from the Old and ff. 32v and 426v are from the New Testament. The remaining twenty-three miniatures combine scenes in one of the following ways:

1. New Testament scenes only: ff. 30v, 137r, 165r, 170r, 196v, 310v, 316r (7 pages). Of these, ff. 30v and 196v present a coherent narrative across the entire page; ff. 137r, 165r and 170r combine narrative sequences with isolated scenes; and ff. 310v and 316r juxtapose scenes without any narrative connections.

2. Old Testament scenes only: ff. 69v, 174v, 226v, 347v, 360v, 435v (6 pages). Of these, f. 69v presents a coherent narrative across the entire page; ff. 174v, 347v and perhaps 226v combine narrative sequences with isolated scenes; and ff. 360r and 435v juxtapose scenes without any tight narrative connections.

3. Old Testament and New Testament scenes combined: ff. 3r, 143v, 215v, 264v (4 pages). Of these, the first two include narrative sequences, while the second two do not.

4. New Testament scenes combined with at least one non-biblical scene: ff. 87v and 149v (2 pages). The latter biblical episode is presented as a multi-scene narrative; the former combines a narrative sequence with isolated scenes.

5. Old Testament scenes combined with at least one non-biblical scene: ff. 52v, 67v, 71v, 424v. Of these, the first includes a multi-scene biblical narrative; the remainder do not.

Six Old Testament episodes were accorded more than one scene in *Paris. gr. 510*: the Jonah sequence on f. 3r incorporates five scenes; the Adam and Eve cycle on f. 52v includes eight; the history of Joseph on f. 69v expands to fourteen; the sacrifice of Isaac on f. 174v is presented in two; five show the story of Samson on f. 347v; and two moments of the narrative of Ezekiel in the valley of dry bones appear on f. 438v. These are, on the whole, extensive narrative sequences: thirty-six scenes devoted to six narratives averages out to six scenes a sequence. There are nearly twice as many New Testament narratives, but they are far shorter: the eleven narratives only once make it up to five scenes (the parable of Dives and Lazarus on f. 149r), and most are restricted to two or three⁽³⁷⁾. As against the six scene average for the Old Testament narrative sequences, the New Testament narratives average just under three scenes.

The absolute number of scenes, then, tells a different story from the way those scenes are grouped: Old Testament scenes are clustered into narratives to a far greater extent than are scenes from the New Testament. The *typikon* of Hagia Sophia follows much the same pattern: though neither the histories of Samson or Joseph are recited in the liturgy, the three Old Testament narratives included in both the *typikon* and *Paris. gr. 510* are grouped together in both. The Jonah narrative, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the story of Ezekiel in the valley of the dry bones (illustrated on ff. 3r, 174v and 438v, respectively) were all read as long units on Holy Saturday, while the creation and fall sequence pictured on f. 52v appears in the liturgy on consecutive weekdays at the beginning of Lent (see table 1).

Excepting the book of Psalms — excluded here because, as it was by far the most popular of the Old Testament books, knowledge of it does not provide a representative account of Byzantine familiarity with the Old Testament in general — there are, however, far fewer references to the Old Testament in the *typikon* of the Great Church than there are to the New, and the same is true of contemporary sermons: Photios, for example, paraphrases or cites the Old Testament approximately 120 times in his sermons (again excluding Psalms), but refers to the New Testament on over 220 occasions⁽³⁸⁾. These patterns

(37) Two scenes: ff. 3r, 87v, 137r, one sequence on 143v, 170r. Three scenes: ff. 165r (twice), 196v. Four scenes: ff. 30v, one sequence on 143v.

(38) For citations in the *typikon*, see MATEOS, *Typicon*, II, pp. 213-231; calculations for Photios are based on a quick count of the citations provided by the footnotes

suggest that Old Testament figures would have been less familiar to ninth-century Byzantines than New Testament ones. But whether or not lack of familiarity is responsible, in both the miniatures of *Paris. gr. 510* and in the liturgy of the Great Church, Old Testament figures seem to have been thought of less as individuals than as part of and embedded in narrative structures that defined their identity. Such structural parallels between miniatures, sermons, and a liturgical formulation all created at roughly the same time suggest that understanding the relationship between *Paris. gr. 510* and the liturgy is less dependent on a precise correlation of episodes read with episodes pictured than on a deeper sense of how various episodes could work together ; how, in other words, different types of narrative could and should be used and conveyed ⁽³⁹⁾.

In terms of the juxtaposition of individual scenes, and of the relative importance given to different books of the bible, one-to-one correlations between *Paris. gr. 510* and the contemporary rite celebrated in Constantinople are in the end infrequent and mostly insignificant. The exercise of comparing the two has nonetheless revealed a hitherto unremarked, but shared, difference in approach to Old and New Testament narrative : both the *Homilies* and the *typikon* display a tendency to view Old Testament narratives as a block while chopping up the New Testament narratives into smaller bites. Rather than a causal connection, we find a structural one. But whether the *Homilies* miniatures absorbed a pattern already established by the liturgy, or whether both the liturgy and the images responded to an even more deeply rooted cultural response to the two parts of the bible, is not a question I can answer. The latter seems more likely ; but, whichever is true, *Paris. gr. 510* provides a new model for approaches to the relationship between images and the liturgy, and, more broadly, for approaches to Byzantine visual narrative.

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in MANGO, *Homilies*. For the record, there are just under fifty references to Psalms in Photios's sermons, second only to the approximately seventy references to Matthew, and far higher than the next most frequently cited Old Testament books, Genesis and Exodus, which each clock in at fourteen.

(39) Hence, as shown in table 3, we cannot extend this pattern to individual books of the bible.

TABLE I

Concordance of readings from the typikon of Hagia Sophia with scenes in *Paris. gr. 510*
 (All citations from J. MATEOS, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols., *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 166-167, Rome, 1963.)

A. Movable feasts**Lent**

1st Wednesday	Genesis 1 : 24-2 : 3	f. 52v	Adam and Eve
1st Thursday	Genesis 2 : 4-19	f. 52v	Adam and Eve
1st Friday	Genesis 2 : 20-3 : 20	f. 52v	Adam and Eve
1st Sunday	John 1 : 43-51	f. 87v	Christ and Nathanael
2nd Monday	Genesis 3 : 21-4 : 7	f. 52v	Adam and Eve
2nd Thursday	Isaiah 6 : 1-12	f. 67v	Isaiah's vision
2nd Saturday	Mark 1 : 35-44	f. 170r	Healing of the Leper
2nd Sunday	Mark 2 : 1-12	f. 316r	Healing at Capernaum
3rd Friday	Genesis 8 : 4-21	f. 360r	Noah's ark
4th Thursday	Genesis 10 : 32-11 : 9	f. 360r	Tower of Babel
5th Monday	Isaiah 37 : 33-38 : 6	f. 435v	Isaiah and Hezekiah
5th Thursday	Genesis 22 : 1-18	f. 174v	Sacrifice of Isaac
5th Saturday	Luke 1 : 39-50	f. 3r	Visitation
6th Saturday	Mark 2 : 14-17	f. 87v	Calling of Matthew
	John 11 : 1-45	f. 196v	Raising of Lazarus
Holy week			
Palm Sunday	John 12 : 1-18	f. 196v	Supper at Simon's, Entry Jerusalem
	Matthew 21 : 1-11	f. 196v	Entry into Jerusalem
	Daniel 3 : 26-27	f. 435v	Three Hebrews
Holy Wednesday	Matthew 26 : 6-16	f. 196v	Supper at Simon's
	Job 2 : 1-10	f. 71v	Job
Holy Thursday	Mark 15 : 16-32	f. 30v	Crucifixion
	Matthew 27 : 33-54	f. 30v	Crucifixion
	Luke 23 : 32-49	f. 30v	Crucifixion
	John 19 : 25-37	f. 30v	Crucifixion
	Mark 15 : 43-47	f. 30v	Deposition and entombment
	John 19 : 38-42	f. 30v	Deposition and entombment

TABLE 1 (continuation)

Concordance of readings from the typikon of Hagia Sophia with scenes in *Paris. gr. 510*
(All citations from J. MATEOS, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols., *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 166-167, Rome, 1963.)

Good Friday	Matthew 27 : 1-54 Luke 23 : 39-43 Matthew 27 : 55-61 John 19 : 31-37 Matthew 28 : 1-20	f. 30v f. 30v f. 30v f. 30v f. 30v	Crucifixion Crucifixion Deposition and entombment Deposition and entombment Chairete
Holy Saturday	Genesis 22 : 1-18 Ezekiel 37 : 1-14 Daniel 3 : 1-51 Jonah 1 : 1-4 : 11	f. 426v f. 174v f. 438v f. 435v	Mission of the apostles Sacrifice of Isaac Ezekiel in the valley of dry bones Three Hebrews Jonah
After Easter			
4th Saturday	Acts 12 : 1-11	f. 32v	Martyrdom of James
4th Sunday	John 5 : 1-15	f. 143v	Healing at Bethesda
5th Wednesday after Easter	John 6 : 5-14	f. 165r	Miracle of the loaves and fishes
5th Sunday	John 4 : 5-41	f. 215v	Christ and the Samaritan woman
6th Sunday	John 9 : 1-38	f. 316r	Healing at Siloam
Sunday before Pentecost	Daniel 3 : 26-27	f. 435v	Three Hebrews
Pentecost			
Pentecost	Acts 2 : 1-11	f. 301r	Pentecost
1st Wednesday	John 1 : 43-51	f. 87v	Christ and Nathanael
2nd Sunday	Matthew 4 : 18-23	f. 87v	Calling of the apostles
4th Saturday	Matthew 8 : 14-23	f. 170r	Healing of Peter's mother-in-law
4th Sunday	Matthew 8 : 5-13	f. 170r	Healing of the Centurion's servant
5th Saturday	Matthew 9 : 9-13	f. 87v	Calling of Matthew
5th Sunday	Matthew 8 : 28-9 : 1	f. 170r	Healing of the Demoniacs
6th Saturday	Matthew 9 : 18-26	f. 143v	Bleeding woman, Jairus's daughter
6th Sunday	Matthew 9 : 1-8	f. 316r	Healing at Capernaum
8th Sunday	Matthew 14 : 14-22	f. 165r	Miracle of the loaves and fishes

9th Sunday	Matthew 14 : 22-34	f. 170r	Christ walks on water
12th Saturday	Matthew 19 : 16-24	f. 87v	Christ and the rich youth
18th Saturday	Matthew 20 : 29-34	f. 310v	Healing of the born blind
19th Saturday	Luke 5 : 17-26	f. 316r	Healing at Capernaum
19th Sunday	Luke 5 : 27-28	f. 87v	Calling of Matthew
20th Saturday	Luke 7 : 11-16	f. 316r	Raising of the widow's son
21st Sunday	Luke 6 : 1-10	f. 310v	Healing of the man with withered arm
23rd Sunday	Luke 16 : 19-31	f. 149r	Parable of Dives and Lazarus
24th Sunday	Luke 8 : 41-56	f. 143v	Bleeding woman, Jairus's daughter
26th Sunday	Luke 10 : 25-37	f. 143v	Parable of the Good Samaritan
28th Sunday	Luke 13 : 10-17	f. 310v	Healing of the bent woman
29th Saturday	Luke 17 : 12-19	f. 215v	Healing of the ten lepers
31st Sunday	Luke 14 : 1-11	f. 170r	Healing of the hydrophobic
33rd Saturday	Luke 19 : 1-10	f. 87v	Christ and Zachias
	Luke 20 : 46-21 : 8	f. 316r	Parable of the widow's mite

B. Fixed readings

1 September	Luke 1 : 39-50	f. 3r	Visitation
8 September	Genesis 28 : 10-17	f. 174v	Jacob's dream
14 September	Genesis 28 : 10-17	f. 174v	Jacob's dream
Saturday after 14 September	John 19 : 13-15	f. 30v	Crucifixion
16 September	Luke 7 : 36-50	f. 196v	Supper at Simon's
20 September	Luke 7 : 36-50	f. 196v	Supper at Simon's
5 November	Luke 20 : 46-21 : 19	f. 316r	Parable of the widow's mite
6 November	Luke 19 : 1-10	f. 87v	Christ and Zachias
Sunday after 6 November	Luke 16 : 19-31	f. 149r	Parable of Dives and Lazarus
14 November	Luke 16 : 19-31	f. 149r	Parable of Dives and Lazarus
16 November	John 1 : 43-51	f. 87v	Christ and Nathanael
21 November	Matthew 9 : 9-13	f. 87v	Calling of Matthew
30 November	Luke 1 : 39-50	f. 3r	Visitation
4 December	Matthew 4 : 18-23	f. 87v	Calling of the apostles
25 December	Mark 5 : 24-34	f. 143v	Healing of the bleeding woman
Saturday after Christmas	Matthew 2 : 1-12	f. 137r	Adoration of the Magi
	Luke 1 : 39-50	f. 3r	Visitation

TABLE 1 (continuation)

Concordance of readings from the typikon of Hagia Sophia with scenes in *Paris. gr. 510*
 (All citations from J. MATEOS, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols., *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 166-167, Rome, 1963.)

Sunday after Christmas	Daniel 3 : 26-27	f. 435v	Three Hebrews
1 January	Exodus 14 : 15-29	f. 264v	Crossing of the Red Sea
5 January	4 Kings 2 : 4-14	f. 264v	Ascension of Elijah
	Judges 6 : 36-40	f. 347v	Gideon's fleece
Saturday after Epiphany	Matthew 4 : 1-11	f. 165r	Temptation of Christ
16 January	Acts 12 : 1-11	f. 32v	Martyrdom of James
2 February	Genesis 28 : 10-17	f. 174v	Jacob's dream
25 March	Luke 1 : 24-38	f. 3r	Annunciation
	Exodus 3 : 1-8	f. 264v	Moses and the burning bush
23 April	Acts 12 : 1-11	f. 32v	Martyrdom of James
8 May	John 19 : 25-27	f. 30v	Crucifixion
14 May	Acts 12 : 1-11	f. 32v	Martyrdom of James
2 July	Luke 1 : 39-50	f. 3r	Visitation
11 July	Luke 7 : 36-50	f. 196v	Supper at Simon's
6 August	Exodus 33 : 11-34 : 8	f. 52v	Moses receives the laws
	Matthew 17 : 1-10	f. 75r	Transfiguration
	Luke 9 : 28-36	f. 75r	Transfiguration
15 August	Genesis 28 : 10-17	f. 174v	Jacob's dream
31 August	Luke 1 : 39-50	f. 3r	Visitation
C. Special readings			
for holy female martyrs, ascetics, and sick women			
	Matthew 8 : 14-18	f. 170r	Healing of Peter's mother-in-law
	Mark 5 : 24-34	f. 143v	Healing of the bleeding woman
for ascetics and monks taking the habit			
	Acts 12 : 1-11	f. 32v	Martyrdom of James
for the dead	Luke 7 : 11-16	f. 316r	Raising of the widow's son
Pericopes relating to the cross	Matthew 27 : 35-42	f. 30v	Crucifixion
Prokeimena according to the eight modes...			
	Matthew 28 : 16-20	f. 426v	Mission of the apostles
Prokeimena for great feasts	Luke 1 : 39-50	f. 3r	Visitation

TABLE 2

Concordance of scenes in *Paris. gr. 510* with readings from the typikon of Hagia Sophia
(references and specific citations appear in table 1)

Folio 3r	Annunciation Visitation	25 March 5th Saturday of Lent, 1 September, 21 November, Saturday after Christmas, 2 July, 31 August, prokeimena for great feasts Holy Saturday
Folio 30v	Jonah Crucifixion	Holy Thursday, Good Friday, 14 September, 8 May, pericopes relating to the cross
Folio 32v	Deposition and entombment Chairete Martyrdom of James	Holy Thursday, Good Friday Holy Saturday 4th Saturday after Easter, 16 January, 23 April, 14 May, readings for aescetics and monks taking the habit
Folio 52v	Adam and Eve Genesis 1 : 24-2 : 3 Genesis 2 : 4-19 Genesis 2 : 20-3 : 20 Genesis 3 : 21-4 : 7 Moses receives the laws	1st Wednesday of Lent 1st Thursday of Lent 1st Friday of Lent 2nd Monday of Lent 6 August
Folio 67v	Isaiah's vision	2nd Thursday of Lent
Folio 71v	Job	Holy Wednesday
Folio 75r	Transfiguration	6 August
Folio 87v	Calling of the apostles Calling of Matthew Christ and Nathanael Christ and the rich youth Christ and Zacharias	2nd Sunday after Pentecost, 30 November 5th Saturday after Pentecost, 19th Saturday after Pentecost, 16 November 1st Sunday of Lent, 1st Wednesday after Pentecost, 14 November 12th Saturday after Pentecost 31st Sunday after Pentecost, 5 November
Folio 137r	Adoration of the magi	25 December
Folio 143v	Healing at Bethesda Healing of bleeding woman ...and Jairus's daughter Good Samaritan	4th Sunday after Easter 4 December, readings for holy female martyrs, aescetics, and sick women 6th Saturday after Pentecost, 23rd Sunday after Pentecost 24th Sunday after Pentecost
Folio 149r	Dives and Lazarus	21st Sunday after Pentecost, 6 November, Sunday after 6 November
Folio 165r	Miracle of loaves and fishes Temptation of Christ	5th Wednesday after Easter, 8th Sunday after Pentecost Saturday after Epiphany

TABLE 2 (continuation)

Concordance of scenes in *Paris. gr. 510* with readings from the typikon of Hagia Sophia
(references and specific citations appear in table 1)

Folio 170r	Healing of the leper Peter's mother-in-law	2nd Saturday of Lent 4th Saturday after Pentecost, readings for holy female martyrs, ascetics, and sick women
	Centurion's servant Healing of the demoniacs Christ walks on water Healing of the hydrophobic	4th Sunday after Pentecost 5th Sunday after Pentecost 9th Sunday after Pentecost 29th Saturday after Pentecost
Folio 174v	Sacrifice of Isaac Jacob's dream	5th Thursday of Lent, Holy Saturday 1 September, 8 September, 2 February, 15 August
Folio 196v	Raising of Lazarus Supper in the house of Simon ...and Entry into Jerusalem Entry into Jerusalem	6th Saturday of Lent Holy Wednesday, Saturday after 14 September, 16 September, 11 July Palm Sunday Palm Sunday
Folio 215v	Samaritan woman Healing of the ten lepers	5th Sunday after Easter 28th Sunday after Pentecost
Folio 264v	Crossing the Red Sea Ascension of Elijah Moses and the burning bush	1 January 5 January 25 March
Folio 301r	Pentecost	Pentecost
Folio 310v	Healing of the born blind ...man with the withered arm ...bent woman	12th Saturday after Pentecost 20th Saturday after Pentecost 26th Sunday after Pentecost
Folio 316r	Healing at Capernaum Healing at Siloam Raising of the widow's son Parable of the widow's mite	2nd Sunday of Lent, 6th Sunday after Pentecost, 18th Saturday after Pentecost 6th Sunday after Easter 19th Sunday after Pentecost, readings for the dead 33rd Saturday after Pentecost, 20 September
Folio 347v	Gideon's fleece	5 January
Folio 360r	Noah's ark Tower of Babel	3rd Friday of Lent 4th Thursday of Lent
Folio 426v	Mission of the apostles	Holy Saturday, prokeimena according to the eight modes...
Folio 435v	Isaiah and Hezekiah Three Hebrews	5th Monday of Lent Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, Sunday before Pentecost, Sunday after Christmas
Folio 438v	Ezekiel in the valley	Holy Saturday

TABLE 3

Coincidence of Old Testament episodes in *Paris. gr. 510* and the typikon of Hagia Sophia (1)

Comparison of *Paris. gr. 510* with the "Index biblique" in the modern edition of the typikon reveals profound differences in their coverages of Old Testament books (MATEOS, *Typicon*, II, pp. 213-223). Approximately half of the typikon references are to Psalms, the most familiar book of the bible to both schooled Byzantines (for whom it formed part of a literary education) and unschooled Byzantines (because bits were recited so often in the church service) alike; yet *Paris. gr. 510* includes no illustrations directly related to Psalms. Omitting Psalms, there are 226 Old Testament citations in the typikon; of these, 70% concern Old Testament books that underlie scenes in *Paris. gr. 510*. However, as might be expected from the discrepancy between the use of Psalms in the liturgy and in *Paris. gr. 510*, the parallels are less than compelling:

Number of pages in <i>Paris. gr. 510</i> including scenes from :		Number of scenes in <i>Paris. gr. 510</i> from :		Citations in liturgy from :	
Genesis	4 (17%)	Genesis	28 (47%)	Isaiah	(23%)
Exodus	4 (17%)	Judges	6 (10%)	Genesis	(19%)
Kings	4 (17%)	Exodus	5 (8%)	Daniel	(8%)
Isaiah	3 (13%)	Jonah	5 (8%)	Exodus	(7%)
Daniel	2 (8%)	Kings	4 (7%)	Ezekiel	(4%)
Joshua	2 (8%)	Isaiah	3 (5%)	Kings	(3%)
Ezekiel	1 (4%)	Joshua	3 (5%)	Job	(2%)
Job	1 (4%)	Daniel	2 (3%)	Joshua	(1%)
Judges	1 (4%)	Ezekiel	2 (3%)	Judges	(1%)
Jeremiah	1 (4%)	Job	1 (2%)	Jeremiah	(1%)
Jonah	1 (4%)	Jeremiah	1 (2%)	Jonah	(0.5%)

NB : the Isaiah scenes listed include the prophet's martyrdom, though it is recounted in an apocryphal book.

No matter how the two columns that break down the Old Testament scenes in *Paris. gr. 510* are compared with the third column, they do not match in any significant way with the incidence of liturgical citations.

(1) The Old Testament is isolated here because the problems of attributing a particular New Testament scene to a specific gospel narration over-complicates an essentially simple point.

TABLE 4

Biblical scenes illustrated in *Paris. gr.* 510

Sequences joined in one miniature are listed as a unit, with the inclusive text cited ; the number of individual scenes is indicated on the left. The first line below, for example, refers to an eight-scene sequence that illustrates events narrated between Genesis 1 : 26 and 3 : 25.

Scenes from the Old Testament

- 1-8. Genesis 1 : 26-3 : 25 ; creation and expulsion sequence (f. 52v)
9. Genesis 8 : 6-11 ; Noah's ark (f. 360r)
10. Genesis 11 : 1-9 ; tower of Babel (f. 360r)
- 11-12. Genesis 22 : 5-13 ; sacrifice of Isaac (f. 174v)
13. Genesis 28 : 10-15 ; Jacob's dream (f. 174v)
14. Genesis 32 : 24-30 ; Jacob's struggle with the angel (f. 174v)
- 15-28. Genesis 37 : 13-41 : 43 ; Joseph sequence (f. 69v)
29. Exodus 3 : 1-5 ; Moses and the burning bush (f. 264v)
30. Exodus 14 : 21-31, 15 : 20-21 ; Crossing of the Red Sea with the dance of Miriam (f. 264v)
31. Exodus 17 : 1-7 ; Moses strikes water from a rock (f. 226v)
32. Exodus 17 : 8-13 ; Israelites' victory over the Amalakites (f. 424v)
33. Exodus 34 : 4-5 ; Moses receives the laws (f. 52v)
34. Joshua 5 : 13-15 ; Joshua meets the angel (f. 226v)
35. Joshua 6 ; fall of Jericho (f. 424v)
36. Joshua 10 : 12-14 ; Joshua stops the sun and moon (f. 226v)
37. Judges 6 : 36-40 ; Gideon and the fleece (f. 347v)
- 38-42. Judges 15 : 15-16 : 30 ; Samson sequence (f. 347v)
43. 1 Kings 16 : 3-13 ; anointment of David (f. 174v)
44. 2 Kings 12 ; penitence of David (f. 143v)
45. 3 Kings 3 : 16-27 ; Judgment of Solomon (f. 215v)
46. 4 Kings 2 : 11-13 ; ascension of Elijah (f. 264v)
47. Job 2 ; Job on his dungheap (f. 71v)
48. Isaiah 6 : 1-7 ; Vision of Isaiah (f. 67v)
49. Isaiah 38 : 1-3 ; Isaiah and Hezekiah (f. 435v)
50. Jeremiah 38 : 7-13 ; Jeremiah raised from the pit (f. 143v)
- 51-2. Ezekiel 37 : 1-14 ; Ezekiel in the valley of the dry bones (f. 438v)
53. Daniel 3 : 26-88 ; three Hebrews in the furnace (f. 435v)
54. Daniel 14 : 31-39 ; Daniel in the lions' den (f. 435v)
- 55-9. Jonah 1 : 1-4 : 6 ; Jonah cycle (f. 3r)

Scenes from the New Testament

- 60-1. Matthew 2 : 1-12 ; adoration and dream of the Magi (f. 137r)
62. Matthew 2 : 26 ; massacre of the innocents (f. 137r)
- 63-5. Matthew 4 : 1-11 ; temptation of Christ (f. 165r)
66. Matthew 4 : 18-22 ; calling of Peter, Andrew, James, John (f. 87v)
67. Matthew 8 : 2-4, Mark 1 : 40-44, Luke 5 : 12-14 ; healing of the leper (f. 170r)
68. Matthew 8 : 5-13, Luke 7 : 2-10 ; healing of the centurion's servant (f. 170r) ⁽²⁾

(2) Scenes 67 and 68 are narrated continuously in Matthew, and are therefore considered as continuous narrative in the body of the article.

TABLE 4 (continuation)

Biblical scenes illustrated in *Paris. gr. 510*

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|---------|---|
| 69. | Matthew 8 : 14-15, Mark 1 : 30-31 ; healing of Peter's mother-in-law (f. 170r) |
| 70. | Matthew 8 : 28-32 ; healing of the demoniacs (f. 170r) |
| 71. | Matthew 9 : 1-8, Mark 2 : 3-12, Luke 5 : 17-26 healing of the paralytic at Capernaum (f. 316r) |
| 72-3. | Matthew 9 : 9, Mark 2 : 14, Luke 5 : 27-28 ; calling of Matthew (f. 87v) |
| 74-5. | Matthew 9 : 18-26, Mark 5 : 22-43, Luke 8 : 41-56 ; healing of the woman with the issue of blood ; raising of Jairus's daughter (f. 143v) |
| 76. | Matthew 12 : 10-13, Mark 3 : 1-5, Luke 6 : 6-10 ; healing of the man with withered arm (f. 310v) |
| 77. | Matthew 14 : 13-21, Mark 6 : 31-44, Luke 9 : 10-17, John 6 : 1-13 ; miracle of loaves and fishes (f. 165r) |
| 78. | Matthew 14 : 25-31 Christ walks on water (f. 170r) |
| 79. | Matthew 17 : 1-10, Mark 9 : 2-9, Luke 9 : 28-32 ; Transfiguration (f. 75r) |
| 80. | Matthew 19 : 16-22, Mark 10 : 17-22 ; Christ and the rich youth (f. 87v) |
| 81. | Matthew 20 : 30-34 ; healing of the two men born blind (f. 310v) |
| 82. | Matthew 21 : 1-9, Mark 11 : 1-10, Luke 19 : 29-38, John 12 : 12-15 ; entry into Jerusalem (f. 196v) |
| 83. | Matthew 21 : 18-21, Mark 11 : 12-14, 20-25 ; parable of the withered fig tree (f. 310v) |
| 84. | Matthew 27 : 33-56, Mark 15 : 22-41, Luke 23 : 33-49, John 19 : 18-34 ; Crucifixion (f. 30v) |
| 85. | Matthew 28 : 9-10 ; chairete (f. 30v) |
| 86-98. | Matthew 28 : 19 ; Mission of the Apostles (f. 426v) |
| 99. | Mark 12 : 41-44, Luke 21 : 1-4 ; parable of the widow's mite (f. 316r) |
| 100. | Luke 1 : 26-38 ; Annunciation (f. 3r) |
| 101. | Luke 1 : 39-50 ; Visitation (f. 3r) |
| 102. | Luke 2 : 25-35 ; Presentation (f. 137r) |
| 103-5. | Luke 2 : 41-49 ; Christ among the doctors (f. 165r) |
| 106. | Luke 7 : 11-16 ; raising of the widow's son at Nain (f. 316r) |
| 107-10. | Luke 10 : 30-37 ; parable of the Good Samaritan (f. 143v) |
| 111. | Luke 13 : 11-16 ; healing of the bent woman (f. 310v) |
| 112. | Luke 14 : 2-4 ; healing of the hydrophobic (f. 170r) |
| 113-7. | Luke 16 : 19-31 ; Dives and Lazarus (f. 149r) |
| 118. | Luke 17 : 11-19 ; healing of the ten lepers (f. 215v) |
| 119. | Luke 19 : 1-5 ; Christ and Zachias (f. 87v) |
| 120. | John 1 : 44-49 ; conversion of Nathanael (f. 87v) |
| 121. | John 4 : 5-26 ; conversion of the Samaritan woman (f. 215v) |
| 122. | John 5 : 2-15 ; healing of the paralytic at Bethesda (f. 143v) |
| 123. | John 9 ; healing of the blind man at Siloam (f. 316r) |
| 124. | John 11 : 1-44 ; raising of Lazarus (f. 196v) |
| 125. | John 12 : 1-8 (Matthew 26 : 6-13, Mark 14 : 3-9, Luke 7 : 36-50) ; supper at Simon's (f. 196v) |
| 126-7. | John 19 : 38-42 (Matthew 27 : 57-60, Mark 15 : 42-46, Luke 23 : 50-53) ; deposition and entombment (f. 30v) |
| 128. | Acts 2 : 1-13 ; Pentecost (f. 301r) |
| 129. | Acts 9 : 3-5 ; conversion of Saul (f. 264v) |
| 130. | Acts 12 : 2 ; martyrdom of James (f. 32v) |

TABLE 4 (continuation)

Biblical scenes illustrated in *Paris. gr. 510*

Scenes from apocryphal books

- 131-41. Acts of Andrew, John, Paul, Peter, Thomas etc ; martyrdom of the apostles (f. 32v)
142. 2 Baruch ; Manasses (f. 435v)
143-51. 4 Makkabees ; the martyrdom of the Makkabees (f. 340r)
152. Martyrdom of Isaiah ; the martyrdom of Isaiah (f. 347v)
153-4. Protevangelion ; flight of Elizabeth and John the Baptist ; martyrdom of Zacharias (f. 137r)
-

LA LEMMATISATION DES TEXTES GRECS ET BYZANTINS : UNE APPROCHE PARTICULIÈRE DE LA LANGUE ET DES AUTEURS

Avec le développement des outils informatiques, de nouveaux produits ont vu le jour dans le domaine de la philologie et de la linguistique grecques. Sans parler des didacticiels proprement dits, une double évolution s'observe aujourd'hui. D'une part, les textes édités sont rassemblés et diffusés sur des supports magnétiques ou optiques, qui donnent à l'utilisateur à la fois un confort d'accès et l'illusion de maîtriser toute la littérature. D'autre part, de nouveaux instruments de travaux (index, concordances, statistiques de fréquences, etc.) sont proposés pour étudier les textes, et cela indépendamment de la question du support. Si ces instruments sont réalisés au moyen de techniques nouvelles, l'expérience montre qu'ils ne dispensent pas leurs auteurs, bien au contraire, des connaissances traditionnelles. La facilité que fait miroiter la technologie actuelle n'est qu'apparente : pour soumettre un texte à un traitement automatique bien conçu, il faut encore et toujours lire le texte, le comprendre, et connaître son «Sitz im Leben». Quant à l'utilisateur qui compulse les index, concordances et tables de fréquences, il reçoit souvent plus qu'il ne le pense : ces outils, pour qui sait s'en servir correctement, sont à leur manière «interactifs», en ce qu'ils s'éclairent les uns les autres. Une lecture adéquate et exploitant toutes les potentialités de ces outils nécessite une formation particulière, au terme de laquelle l'utilisateur appréhendera les nouveaux outils comme une méthode de lecture à part entière, capable de livrer sur les textes et sur la langue, sur les auteurs et leurs mentalités, des informations précieuses et souvent originales. Le présent article entend illustrer ce propos, à partir d'une expérience acquise dans la production de concordances lemmatisées d'auteurs grecs patristiques et byzantins. Ce domaine de la littérature ne dispose pas, en effet, des mêmes instruments de travail que les productions des époques classique et hellénistique, alors même que la variété des oeuvres et l'évolution de

la langue rendent ces outils plus indispensables encore pour les époques ultérieures.

Cette expérience est le fruit d'une collaboration avec le Cetedoc (Centre de Traitement Électronique des Documents) de l'Université catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve), qui, après avoir innové dans le domaine de l'étude de la tradition occidentale latine, a développé des techniques propres à prendre en compte les caractéristiques du grec. La série de publications qui en résulte, les *Thesauri Patrum Graecorum*, initialement consacrée aux oeuvres des Pères de l'Église grecs (1), s'ouvre maintenant à d'autres auteurs grecs chrétiens ainsi qu'aux écrivains byzantins (2). Cette décision est motivée par la volonté de montrer à la fois que tous ces auteurs appartiennent à un même univers linguistique et culturel, et en même temps que cette cohérence apparente recèle une multiplicité en perpétuelle évolution. Les concordances lemmatisées montreront pour leur part, au fur et à mesure qu'elles se compléteront les unes les autres, que le monde byzantin se caractérise par un immobilisme apparent qui cache une vie ardente ; elles indiqueront que, parmi les moyens divers exploités par le monde byzantin pour donner de lui-même cette image statique, les procédés de langue et de style jouent un rôle de première importance (3).

Des exemples tirés des oeuvres des auteurs traités ou actuellement en traitement dans la série des *Thesauri Patrum Graecorum* montreront comment la réalisation et l'utilisation des concordances lemmatisées constituent une lecture originale des textes, une approche des caractéristiques de la langue grecque patristique et byzantine, et une mise en évidence de certains traits de la culture et de la mentalité des auteurs. Quelques notions et termes de base doivent au préalable être rappelés brièvement.

(1) Ont été publiés à ce jour les volumes consacrés aux oeuvres complètes de Grégoire de Nazianze, Léonce de Constantinople, Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite, Amphiloque d'Iconium et Ps.-Nonnos. Voir en Appendice la liste de ces publications.

(2) Sont en préparation les volumes consacrés aux Pères apostoliques, à Barsanuphe, à Athanase d'Alexandrie, à Basile de Césarée, aux historiens Procope de Césarée et Théophane le Confesseur, et à Photius de Constantinople. La concordance de la *Vita Silvestri* (B.H.G. 1628) a été réalisée et sera publiée avec la nouvelle édition critique en préparation, parallèlement à la publication du texte et de la concordance lemmatisée de la version arménienne par M. Shirinian. D'autres auteurs n'en sont pas moins au programme, en particulier Clément d'Alexandrie et Origène. Quant à l'Origène latin, il est appelé à prendre place dans la série des *Thesauri Patrum Latinorum*.

(3) Sur ce thème, voir p.ex. P. LEMERLE, *Présence de Byzance*, dans *Journal des Savants*, 1990, p. 247-268.

QUELQUES NOTIONS DE BASE

Les termes et les concepts qui président à l'élaboration d'outils automatisés comme des concordances lemmatisées ont déjà été présentés à propos des textes latins (4). Ces définitions sont d'application également aux textes grecs, puisque la méthodologie est identique, même si les deux langues ont des caractéristiques propres, dont il sera question plus loin.

Il convient, en premier lieu, de distinguer index et concordance. Si l'index est une table alphabétique de termes accompagnés des références permettant de les retrouver dans un ouvrage ou dans un texte, la *concordance* au sens où il va en être question dans cette étude y ajoute le contexte : elle présente les termes, classés alphabétiquement et entourés chaque fois de leur contexte. La concordance est donc plus qu'un index, car elle fournit un premier accès au passage examiné, et permet la comparaison des passages entre eux.

L'élaboration de l'outil automatisé exploite un *texte* : «un texte représente une séquence d'unités graphiques. Une unité graphique se définit comme une suite de graphèmes compris entre deux espaces blancs» (5). Ces graphèmes sont les mots du textes, ou plus précisément des *formes* : «une forme se définit comme une unité susceptible de figurer sous une entrée lexicale ou lemme ; elle constitue l'actualisation du lemme dans le discours» (6). La forme est en fait une entrée lexicale virtuelle, car dans beaucoup de langues, il peut y avoir des différences entre les unités graphiques et les formes : en grec, les crases en fournissent des exemples caractéristiques (7). Le *lemme*, quant à lui, est une abstraction : aucun auteur ne s'exprime en lemmes, mais en formes ; le lemme peut, à la limite, être une forme non attestée dans les textes, mais pour être choisi comme lemme, il doit au moins être

(4) *Thesaurus Linguae Scriptorum Operumque Latino-Belgicorum Medii Aevi*, Première Partie : *Le vocabulaire des origines à l'an mil*, vol. I : *Méthodologie et informatique : du texte aux analyses*, publié sous la direction de P. TOMBEUR, Bruxelles, Académie Royale de Belgique, 1986 (cité : TOMBEUR, *Thesaurus*).

(5) TOMBEUR, *Thesaurus*, p. 24 ; les signes de ponctuation sont considérés comme des blancs.

(6) TOMBEUR, *Thesaurus*, p. 24.

(7) P. TOMBEUR, *Informatique et lexicographie philosophique. Pour une réelle écoute des textes dans toute leur dimension historique*, dans *Hyparxis et Hypostasis nel Neoplatonismo*. Atti del I Colloquio Intern. del Centro di Ricerca sul Neoplatonismo (Univ. degli Studi di Catania, 1-3 ott. 1992), a cura di F. ROMANO e D. P. TAORMINA, Florence, 1992, p. 196 (cité : TOMBEUR, *Informatique et lexicographie philosophique*).

à l'origine de formes attestées. *Lemmatiser*, c'est attribuer à chaque forme un lemme ou entrée lexicale ; dans le cas du grec, la plupart des formes rencontrées dans un texte sont des formes déclinées ou conjuguées dérivées d'une forme traditionnellement considérée comme «forme de départ», mais il y a aussi beaucoup de formes indéclinables et indéclinées dans un texte, qui sont donc leur propre «forme de départ», ou «entrée de dictionnaire», bien qu'aucun dictionnaire existant ne fournisse un système de référence complet et parfaitement cohérent. Lemmatiser, c'est intégrer toutes les formes attestées dans un système de lemmes ; lemmatiser, c'est donc systématiser, et en cela l'opération se situe au niveau de la langue, et non au niveau de la parole (8).

La langue est un système qui vit et qui évolue, et ceci est particulièrement vrai dans le cas du grec, langue vivante depuis près de trois millénaires. La littérature patristique et byzantine couvre une période d'environ mille ans, au cours desquels, par exemple, des lemmes anciens ont été remplacés par des lemmes nouveaux dans le système de la langue et de nouvelles unités lexicales ont été produites à partir de deux unités primitives séparées (par crase, par exemple). Le système des lemmes doit tenir compte de ces évolutions, et ne pas proposer pour une période un système de référence qui serait anachronique.

L'analyse à laquelle sont soumis les textes dans le programme du Cetedoc est une analyse lexicale, et la lemmatisation «rassemble sous une même unité lexicale ou lemme, toutes les variantes orthographiques d'une même forme ainsi que, généralement, les formes grammaticales dérivées d'un même vocable, et n'opère dès lors aucune distinction fondée sur des critères morphologico-syntaxiques ou sémantiques». Dans un second temps, cependant, la distinction des lemmes homographes et la création de sous-lemmes (particulièrement utile en onomastique, pour distinguer par exemple différents personnages portant le même nom) (9) se basent aussi sur des critères de sens. C'est pourquoi la lemmatisation, considérée autrefois comme de type purement formel, est aujourd'hui appelée de type «sémantique» (10).

(8) TOMBEUR, *Thesaurus*, p. 28-29.

(9) Pour une application dans le domaine latin, voir p.ex. la concordance de Salimbene : P. BEGUIN et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Fratris Salimbene de Adam (Corpus Christianorum. Thesaurus Patrum Latinorum)*, Turnhout, 1992, p. x et xii. L'introduction de sous-lemmes pour les noms de personnes est pratiquée pour les concordances de Procope et de Théophane actuellement en préparation.

(10) TOMBEUR, *Informatique et lexicographie philosophique*, p. 198-199, où sont présentées les étapes d'une lemmatisation complète : lemmatisation graphico-morpho-

LES ÉTAPES DE LA LEMMATISATION

La préparation du texte

Le texte à traiter doit être transféré sur support magnétique et selon les systèmes de codage du Cetedoc. Il reproduit généralement une édition usuelle, si possible critique. Lors de ce transfert, une attention particulière est accordée au système des références, qui permettra à l'utilisateur de la concordance de situer rapidement tout mot à sa place dans le texte.

Les techniques actuelles permettent de distinguer, au moyen d'un codage particulier, les éléments adventices au texte dont le vocabulaire ne doit pas apparaître comme relevant de l'auteur étudié : l'identification et le marquage des données extra- et intra-textuelles constituent une des étapes principales préalables à la lemmatisation proprement dite. Tel est le cas des titres d'œuvres anciennes, qui sont munis d'un signe particulier afin que l'utilisateur de la concordance n'attribue pas à un auteur un emploi de termes qui lui serait postérieur⁽¹¹⁾. Des gloses clairement identifiées, entrées dans le texte au cours de la tradition manuscrite, peuvent bénéficier d'une distinction similaire. Le cas des citations, et spécialement des citations bibliques, relève d'une même démarche : pour les œuvres patristiques traitées, les citations bibliques ont été munies d'un codage spécifique permettant de distinguer le vocabulaire de l'auteur et le vocabulaire explicitement «emprunté» à une source antérieure. Un dernier élément de distinction peut être apporté au texte lemmatisé, par l'enregistrement et le codage propre, en sus du texte lui-même, de variantes tirées d'un apparat critique, afin de proposer à l'utilisateur de la concordance un accès à tous les termes susceptibles d'avoir été utilisés par l'auteur, et cela que la concordance soit réalisée à partir d'un texte considéré comme critique et définitif, ou à partir d'une édition provisoire, voire non critique. Dans l'édition usuelle de la *Chronique* de Théophane, par exemple, la concordance isole une forme *Μανσοῦρ* (365, 23) en face de quatre occurrences de *Μανσούρ* (408, 26 ; 410, 23 ; 417, 19 ; 428, 11), tandis que l'apparat mentionne systématiquement la variante inverse ; la forme *Μαίω* apparaît quatre fois, et *Μαῖω* treize fois ; il y a une forme de datif

logique, lemmatisation de type formelle, lemmatisation de type sémantique, analyse conceptuelle.

(11) Cfr P. TOMBEUR, *Le vocabulaire des titres : problèmes de méthode* (à paraître).

φρουρᾶ (84, 19, avec *φρουρᾶ* dans l'apparat), en face de dix *φρουρᾶ* ; comment lemmatiser la forme *μαρτυρομένω* (417, 6), alors que l'apparat critique signale la variante *μαρτυρουμένω* ⁽¹²⁾ ? En mettant en évidence pour le lecteur les passages où l'établissement du texte est discuté ou discutable, la concordance acquiert une utilité en matière d'ecdotique, sans prétendre constituer par elle-même une étude de la tradition manuscrite. Un bon exemple de cette démarche a été fourni par J. Noret, dans sa préface à la concordance des œuvres de Léonce de Constantinople ⁽¹³⁾.

Dans la concordance de la *Bibliothèque* de Photios, actuellement en préparation, le texte utilisé — celui de l'édition de R. Henry — est enrichi d'un certains nombres de variantes significatives et importantes : celles-ci sont munies d'un code particulier, tandis qu'un autre code vient s'ajouter à la forme du texte édité qui est sujette à la variante ; en outre, pour les *codices* 246, 247 et 248, consacrés à Aelius Aristide, un troisième code distingue les mots ou passages édités avec le texte mais dont l'étude de la tradition manuscrite montre aujourd'hui qu'ils constituent des additions d'un copiste tardif (xiii^e s.) du manuscrit *Marcianus Gr. 451* ⁽¹⁴⁾. Ce système permet ainsi à l'utilisateur de la concordance d'approcher au plus près de ce qui fait l'originalité de la langue de l'auteur byzantin.

L'application du Dictionnaire Automatique Grec (D.A.G.)

Le texte ainsi préparé est soumis au progiciel (enchaînement de programmes) appelé «Dictionnaire automatique grec» (D.A.G.) : celui-ci reconnaît toutes les formes identiques et les groupe en les classant dans l'ordre alphabétique du contexte qui les suit (ce qui a l'avantage de grouper les passages parallèles). Pour les formes qui ont déjà été analysées, le D.A.G. propose un lemme ou, dans le cas de formes homographes, plusieurs lemmes possibles ; il ne distingue donc pas les formes en fonction de leur sens ; les formes que le D.A.G. rencontre pour la première fois ne reçoivent aucun lemme.

(12) De même, THEOPH. 109, 8 : (Ὀλύβριον τὸν) πατρικὸν à côté de 66 occurrences de πατρικίον ; THEOPH. 97, 32 : πολλῶ en face de 22 occurrences de πολλῶ, etc.

(13) J. NORET et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Leontii presbyteri Constantinopolitani*, Turnhout, 1992, p. IX-XVII.

(14) *Photius, Bibliothèque (Collection byzantine)*, I, Paris, 1959, p. XXXIII.

La concordance de travail : une approche des textes

La liste complète des propositions de lemmes par le D.A.G. est imprimée : cette «concordance de travail» doit être examinée et complétée par le lemmatiseur, qui vérifie si le lemme proposé est correct pour les formes concrètement rencontrées, ajoute un lemme dans le cas d'une forme rencontrée pour la première fois par le système, et attribue le lemme correct dans le cas où plusieurs lemmes ont été proposés par le programme. La lecture attentive de la concordance de travail est une phase essentielle du processus de lemmatisation ; elle révèle sur les textes traités bien des particularités que la lecture de l'édition ne manifeste pas aussi clairement, et elle impose au lemmatiseur un travail de réflexion sur ce texte : il s'agit toujours de comprendre le texte !

Les concordances de travail, en groupant les formes identiques, isolent du même fait les formes à faible occurrence et mettent en évidence les graphies inusuelles, donc aussi les «fautes» d'orthographe, qu'elles soient de simples coquilles typographiques ou des choix d'éditeurs.

La concordance de Procope isole, par exemple, une unique forme ἄλλ' (*De Bellis*, II, 25, 30) dans l'expression ἄλλ' ἐνέδραις τισίν, qui révèle sans doute une erreur d'accentuation dans l'édition, pour ἀλλ' (15). De même, dans la *Chronique* de Théophane, pour les formes ἀγίαι (91, 26), à modifier en ἄγίαι (cfr 233, 16, p.ex.) (16) ; Κωνστατῖνον (15, 19) pour Κωνσταντῖνον (39 occurrences) ; πολλῶ (97, 32) pour πολλῶ (22 occurrences). Dans la *Bibliothèque* du patriarche Photius de Constantinople, deux formes recèlent une erreur typographique : σόφω (*cod.* 235 ; 302a 31) est à corriger en σοφῶ, et Σκοπῶ (*cod.* 248 ; 436b 17) en Σκοπῶ (17).

Chez Théophane, un cas de figure différent est offert par la forme αίτησις (87, 2) : puisqu'il n'y a qu'une seule occurrence de la forme concernée, il n'y a pas de phénomène d'isolement de la forme fautive, mais l'absence d'attribution de lemme par le système pour une forme commune doit attirer l'attention du lemmatiseur sur la graphie de celle-

(15) PROC., *De bellis*, II, 25, 30 : *Procopius*, I. *Bella I-IV*, ed. J. HAURY (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1963, p. 267 (cité : HAURY ed., I).

(16) La concordance manifeste ici une erreur de l'édition elle-même : *Theophanis Chronographia*, rec. C. DE BOOR, I, Leipzig, 1883, anastat. Hildesheim, 1963, p. 91, l. 26 (cité : DE BOOR ed.).

(17) *Photius, Bibliothèque*, ed. R. HENRY (*Collection byzantine*), V, Paris, 1967, p. 109, et VII, Paris, 1974, p. 120.

ci ; *αίτησις* doit être corrigé en *αἴτησις*. Il faut observer qu'ici l'erreur provient d'une erreur d'encodage due à une imperfection de l'édition utilisée (mauvaise impression de la combinaison de l'esprit et de l'accent dans la reproduction anastatique de 1963) (18). Dans bien des cas, le lemmatiseur sera confronté non pas à des erreurs de l'édition, mais à des erreurs d'encodage du texte ayant résisté aux lectures d'épreuves. Ceci montre aussi l'intérêt de tenir compte des accents en grec : il ne faut pas se livrer à une lemmatisation d'un texte grec ancien non accentué, ni multiplier outre mesure les propositions de lemmes pour une simple raison de variation graphique. Le lemmatiseur doit demeurer attentif à tous les détails, et prudent devant la création d'un nouveau lemme.

Le lecteur d'un texte trouvera profit à relever les corrections que les concordances peuvent apporter aux éditions : à titre d'exemple, la concordance d'Amphiloque d'Iconium a noté plus d'une quinzaine d'erreurs orthographiques dans le corpus traité (19). Pour l'éditeur d'un texte, l'utilité de disposer de listes informatiques exhaustives est grande : la mise en évidence, par ces listes, de formes rares ou uniques est une invitation à revoir le texte, voire à revenir aux manuscrits. La collaboration entre le *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* et le Cetedoc en vue d'élaborer les *Instrumenta Lexicologica Latina* et la série des *Thesauri Patrum Latinorum* s'est avérée précieuse à cet égard. De même, la réalisation de la concordance lemmatisée de la version arménienne de Grégoire de Nazianze, sur base des épreuves d'édition, a permis de repérer des coquilles ou des incohérences graphiques dans le texte (20).

La concordance de travail : une approche de la langue

La vérification de la concordance de travail met le lemmatiseur aux prises avec deux faits de langue distincts, les homographies et les variations graphiques dues à la phonétique grecque.

(18) THEOPH., *Chronographia*, DE BOOR ed., p. 87, l. 2 ; même cas en 187, 27 : *ἐπεμπέ* pour *ἔπεμπέ*.

(19) *Thesaurus Amphiloicii*, p. VIII-XIV.

(20) *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni opera. Versio Armeniaca, I. Orationes II, XII, IX*, editae a B. COULIE (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*, 28. *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 3), Turnhout, Brepols, 1994.

a) Les homographies

En dépit de l'existence d'un article et d'un système accentuel développé, la langue grecque, ou plutôt le lexique grec en usage, offre un grand nombre de formes homographes, c'est-à-dire de formes qui peuvent être dérivées de plus d'un lemme : deux, trois, voire quatre lemmes différents pour une même forme. Souvent, les lemmes eux-mêmes sont homographes, aussi doivent-ils être distingués par une spécification supplémentaire, ajoutée entre parenthèses derrière le lemme. Cette spécification est en général d'ordre étymologique ⁽²¹⁾ : c'est l'origine différente de deux mots qui fonde une distinction de lemmes, et non le fait qu'un mot puisse prendre au cours de son histoire des sens différents ⁽²²⁾.

Lorsque le texte a été soumis au programme de reconnaissance du D.A.G., le lemmatiseur peut se trouver confronté à différents cas de figures : les divers lemmes possibles sont automatiquement proposés par le programme, et le lemmatiseur doit choisir le lemme adéquat pour chaque occurrence de la forme ; seul un lemme est proposé, et il appartient au lemmatiseur de se demander si un autre lemme est possible ; aucun lemme n'a été proposé, parce que la forme est encore inconnue du système. Les exemples qui suivent illustrent ces possibilités dans des cas de doubles, triples et quadruples lemmes.

— Doubles lemmes

Il arrive que, pour des mots fréquents, un second lemme, rare et recherché, soit possible ; ainsi, le lemme *μωστήριον* doit-il distinguer, d'une part, *μωστήριον* (*μῶω*), fréquent et obvie, surtout dans le cas de textes chrétiens, et *μωστήριον* (*μῶς*), «chasse aux souris» (*μῶς - τηρέω*), résultat d'un jeu de mots attribué à Denys de Syracuse par Athénée (*Deipnosophistes*, 98c) ; de même, par exemple, pour les lemmes *ἀνάξιος* (*ἄξιος*) et *ἀνάξιος* (*ἄναξ*). Des mots fréquents peuvent, à certains cas, présenter des formes homographes à rattacher à deux lemmes

(21) À titre indicatif, le D.A.G. recensait, dans son état provisoire de décembre 1994 (moins d'un million de mots enregistrés), 3.672 formes homographes sur un total de 114.723 formes différentes (pour 23.811 lemmes), soit un pourcentage de 3,2%. Par comparaison, le Dictionnaire Automatique Latin, riche de plusieurs dizaines de millions de mots, comptait 21.368 formes homographes sur un total de 161.231 formes différentes (pour 27.082 lemmes), soit un pourcentage de 13,25%.

(22) TOMBEUR, *Thesaurus*, p. 41-42.

différents, telles les formes *ἀγαθοῦ* et *ἀγαθῶν*, qui peuvent être dérivées soit de l'adjectif *ἀγαθός*, soit du verbe *ἀγαθόω* ; de même, la forme *ἀγαπῶν*, venant soit de *ἀγαπάω*, soit de *ἀγαπή*, etc. Une famille importante d'homographes est constituée de formes en *-ήσει*, *-ήσεις*, pouvant dériver soit d'un substantif, soit d'un verbe, p.ex. *ἀγαπήσει*, à rattacher soit à *ἀγαπάω*, soit à *ἀγάπησις*, etc. La persistance du système linguistique grec ancien à l'époque byzantine génère les mêmes homographes chez des auteurs postérieurs, p.ex. pour la forme *ἀνύσεις* chez Théophane (349, 19) à dériver soit de *ἀνύω*, «accomplir, achever», soit de *ἄνυσις*, «achèvement, repos». Dans bien des cas, la connaissance d'un contexte large et de la réalité historique sous-jacente aux textes est indispensable pour attribuer le lemme correct, p.ex. chez Théophane, pour les formes *ἀδελφῶν* (127, 2 ; 170, 4 ; 310, 28 ; 352, 9 ; 418, 9) qui peuvent désigner des frères (lemme *ἀδελφός*) aussi bien que des sœurs (lemme *ἀδελφή*), ou pour les formes dérivées soit de *ἄθεος* (*θεός*) soit de *ἄθεος* (*θεάομαι*).

Dans les cas où la forme n'est pas reconnue par le programme, le lemmatiseur doit attribuer le lemme correct, et se demander s'il n'y a pas un second lemme possible pour la forme prise hors contexte. Le système verbal grec, par sa complexité et la richesse des formes qu'il entraîne, engendre de nombreuses formes homographes ; ainsi le participe *ἀνανεύσας* attesté dans l'*Oratio in mesopentecosten* d'Amphiloque d'Iconium⁽²³⁾, peut-il être dérivé, comme ici, de *ἀνανεύω*, «ramener la tête en arrière en signe de refus», ou de *ἀνανέω*, «remonter sur l'eau», les deux verbes formant leur aoriste de manière identique (*ἀνένευσα*). Les règles de la lemmatisation distinguant un lemme à part pour les formes relevant de l'ononastique, la forme *Ἀνθούσης* chez Théophane le Confesseur (75, 27) reçoit comme lemme le nom de personne *Ἀνθοῦσα*, mais se voit attribuer également le lemme verbal *ἀνθέω*. Cette règle propre à l'ononastique est à la base d'un grand nombre de doubles lemmes.

— Triples lemmes

En grec, le nombre de formes pouvant être dérivées de trois lemmes différents est important. Tous les éléments du système linguistique grec

(23) *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera*, ed. C. DATEMA (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*, 3), Turnhout et Leuven, 1978, p. 261 (l. 209), (cité : DATEMA ed.).

concourent à créer ces homographies, de la flexion nominale et verbale à la présence de l'augment et des accents. La forme ἔχει, p.ex., peut être dérivé soit de ἔχω, «avoir», soit de χέω, «verser», soit encore de ἔχις, «vipère». La présence de l'accent en grec, loin de lever toutes les ambiguïtés, peut elle-même créer de nouvelles homographies ; ainsi, c'est l'accent d'enclise sur l'article οἷ qui rend cette forme homographe avec le nominatif pluriel du relatif et avec celui du possessif réfléchi, créant une possibilité de triple lemme. Dans le corpus de Procope, sur les 45 occurrences de la forme αἷ/αῖ, qui reçoivent trois lemmes possibles (ὄς, ἦ, ὄ - ὄς, ἦ, ὄ [έός] - ὄ), deux sont des articles (par suite de l'accent d'enclise), les autres étant des pronoms relatifs. Sur les 49 ὄ/ὄ de la *Chronique* de Théophane, 13 sont des articles devant enclitique et non des relatifs ; de même, 5 sur les 43 οἷ/οῖ.

Parmi les trois lemmes proposés, il peut y avoir deux lemmes homographes, à distinguer alors par une spécification particulière ajoutée entre parenthèses : trois lemmes sont proposés pour la forme ἐχρήσατο : χράομαι (-άω), «se servir de», χράω (χρησμός), «rendre un oracle», et κίχημι, «prêter» ; de même, les six occurrences de la forme ἄλας dans le corpus d'Amphiloque d'Iconium reçoivent trois lemmes, dont deux lemmes homographes, et sont toutes à rattacher au troisième : ἄλς (ἦ), «mer», ἄλς (ὄ), «sel», et ἄλας, «sel».

L'attribution d'un lemme parmi d'autres est révélatrice de la langue ou de la culture d'un auteur, comme dans le cas du chrétien Amphiloque, où toutes les formes qui reçoivent les trois lemmes θεῖος, α, ον, «divin», θεῖος (ὄ), «oncle» et θεῖον, «souffre», sont dérivées du premier, indice du christianisme de l'auteur.

Lorsque deux lemmes sont proposés par le D.A.G., le lemmatiseur peut être amené à ajouter un troisième lemme possible. La forme ἐλεῶν dans l'*Oratio de recens baptizatis* d'Amphiloque (24) avait été reconnue par le programme et avait reçu deux lemmes possibles, ἐλεέω, «avoir pitié», et ἐλεάω, «avoir pitié», mais la lecture du contexte indiquait qu'il fallait envisager ici un troisième lemme, ἔλεος, «pitié» ; celui-ci étant à son tour homographe de ἔλεος (ὄ), il a reçu une spécification : ἔλεος (τό). L'enrichissement de la liste des lemmes ou lemme est fonction du traitement de nouveaux textes. Dans le chantier de l'historien Procope, les formes ἀγροῦ reçoivent les deux lemmes ἀγρός,

(24) DATEMA ed., p. 156, l. 37.

«champ», et ἀγρέω, «prendre (à la chasse, à la pêche)» (25). Chez le chroniqueur byzantin Théophane, la même forme apparaît comme un nom propre désignant un monastère de Bithynie (en THEOPH., 3, 3) ou une localité proche de Constantinople (en THEOPH., 397, 1), ce qui entraîne la nécessité de créer un lemme distinct (règles de l'onomastique).

— Quadruples lemmes

Actuellement, avec environ un million de formes enregistrées, le D.A.G. recense 60 formes pouvant être attribuées à quatre lemmes différents, certains de ceux-ci étant souvent homographes également, p.ex. pour la forme ψυχῶν, qui peut être dérivée des quatre lemmes suivants : ψυχή, «âme», ψῦχος, «froid», ψυχόω (ψυχή), «animer, vivifier», et ψυχόω (ψῦχος), «refroidir»; dans ce cas, deux des quatre lemmes étant homographes, ils ont reçu une spécification supplémentaire. De même, la forme ἀπείρων (26) peut être rattachée à deux fois deux lemmes homographes, d'une part ἄπειρος (πεῖρα), «sans expérience» et ἄπειρος (πέρας), «sans fin», d'autre part ἀπείρων (πεῖρα), «sans expérience» et ἀπείρων (πέρας), «sans fin». Quatre lemmes sont attribués à la forme δοκῶν, dont l'un est lui-même homographe d'un autre lemme intervenant ailleurs, δοκέω, «paraître», δοκός, «poutre», δοκόω, «garnir d'une charpente», et δοκή (δοκέω), distingué par spécification du lemme δοκή (δέχομαι), non attesté au pluriel. Un cas particulièrement complexe de quadruple lemme est celui des formes ἄν et ἄν, qui peuvent représenter soit la contraction de ἐάν, soit ἄν lui-même, soit une forme apocopée de ἄνα (= ἀνέστη; cfr p.ex. II., III, 268 : ἄν δ' Ὀδυσσεύς, «Ulysse se leva»), soit encore une forme apocopée de la préposition ἀνά (en poésie).

Distinguer des lemmes possibles, ce n'est pas qu'un jeu sur les potentialités d'une langue. Dans tous ces cas, il faut lire le texte et le comprendre pour attribuer le lemme correct. La résolution des homographes est une opération qui constitue à la fois une analyse du texte et une réflexion linguistique. L'expérience révèle que la langue grecque offre

(25) PROC., *De bellis*, IV, 16, 13 (HAURY ed., I, p. 499) et VIII, 21, 11 : *Procopius*, II. *Bella V-VIII*, ed. J. HAURY (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1963, p. 601 (cité : HAURY ed., II); *De aedif.*, VI, 6, 14 : *Procopius*, IV. *De aedificiis libri I-VI*, ed. J. HAURY (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1964, p. 183 (cité : HAURY ed., IV).

(26) AMPH. ICON., *Oratio in mulierem peccatricem*, DATEMA ed., p. 113, l. 150.

un nombre élevé de formes homographes, contrairement à une opinion répandue selon laquelle la présence des articles et des accents en grec lève le plus souvent les ambiguïtés de formes. Au contraire, les exemples cités ont montré que, dans certains cas, l'apparition sur une forme donnée d'un accent d'enclise crée une nouvelle homographie. L'affirmation de Cassiodore, selon laquelle «*orthographia siquidem apud Graecos plerumque sine ambiguitate probatur expressa...*» (27), mérite cette précision.

b) La phonétique et l'orthographe : un exemple d'ittacisme

La lemmatisation successive ou en parallèle de textes différents ou d'époques différentes, révèle l'évolution suivie par l'orthographe grecque ; celle-ci est souvent à mettre en rapport avec des phénomènes purement phonétiques, comme celui de l'ittacisme. Dans la mesure du possible, le choix du lemme doit représenter la forme dans sa graphie originale, et il fait donc appel à l'étymologie et à la linguistique historique. La lemmatisation doit proposer un système valable pour toute la *graecitas*, comme l'entreprise en latin propose un système pour la *latinitas*, envergure indispensable pour pouvoir comparer des textes de genres ou d'époques diverses.

Chez l'historien du VI^e s. Procope, le toponyme Aquilée (5 occurrences) se trouve orthographié Ἀκυληία ou Ἀκυλήια (28) ; cette graphie reproduit fidèlement le terme latin *Aquilēia*, avec une voyelle antépénultième longue. Dans l'œuvre de Théophane, au IX^e s., le même terme (1 occurrence en 107, 5) est écrit Ἀκυλία, dans un passage sans doute inspiré de Procope, et qui montre comment la prononciation byzantine a réduit la diphtongue -ηι- à un seul -ι- (29). La question des graphies rejoint celle des sources exploitées par les auteurs, et le choix du lemme implique une étude historique. Procope utilise à plusieurs reprises les toponymes Ἀδραμητός et Ἀδράμωτος. Chez Théophane apparaissent les graphies Ἀδραμούτου (191, 18), Ἀδραμωτίω (385, 20), Ἀδράμωτον (209, 25), Ἀδραμώτου (214, 11). L'examen des contextes est nécessaire pour distinguer les réalités sous-jacentes aux formes. La concordance

(27) CASSIOD., *Institutiones*, 9, 10-11, cité dans TOMBEUR, *Thesaurus*, p. 39.

(28) PROC., *De bellis*, III, 3, 9 (Ἀκυληίας) ; III, 4, 30 (Ἀκυληίαν) et 35 (Ἀκυληία, Ἀκυληίαν) ; V, 1, 23 (Ἀκυλήιαν), HAURY ed., I, p. 320, 329 et 330 ; II, p. 7.

(29) Pour d'autres graphies, voir G. E. PAPE, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3^e éd., I, Braunschweig, 1884, p. 50 (cité : PAPE, *Wörterbuch*).

révèle que Théophane, en 191, 18 (οὕτως δὲ διὰ τῆς Λεπτῆς πόλεως καὶ Ἀδραμούτου εἰς Χράσιν τὸ χωρίον ἀφίκοντο), reproduit sa source, Procope (*De bellis*, III, 17, 8 : οὕτω γοῦν διὰ τε Λέπτῆς πόλεως καὶ Ἀδραμητοῦ εἰς Γράσσην τὸ χωρίον ἀφικόμεθα) (30), aussi la forme Ἀδραμούτου du IX^e s. désigne-t-elle la même localité d'Afrique, Hadrymète, que l'Ἀδραμητοῦ du VI^e s., comme d'ailleurs Χράσιν et Γράσσην représentent la même ville ; de même pour le parallèle entre PROC., *De Bellis*, IV 27, 31 : παραιτούμενος δὲ Ἀρταβάνης ἔφασκε δεῖσαι μὴ Μαρκέντιος ἐξ Ἀδραμητοῦ πόλεως ἐπιβοηθήσας τοῖς ἐναντίοις (31), et THEOPH., 214, 11 : Ἀρταβάνης δὲ ἔφασκε δεῖσαι μὴ ἐξ Ἀδραμύτου τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθόντες οἱ βάρβαροι βοηθήσωσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. La forme Ἀδραμυτίω de Théophane (385, 20), quant à elle, désigne une ville de Mysie, orthographiée chez d'autres auteurs Ἀδραμύτειον, Ἀδραμύττειον, Ἀτραμύττειον, Ἀδραμύττιον, etc. (32). Le lemme, qui doit pouvoir grouper ces graphies, sera choisi d'après les attestations les plus anciennes : Ἀδραμύττιον.

La concordance finale : une approche des auteurs

Les corrections et additions apportées par le lemmatiseur sur la concordance de travail sont enregistrées, et le système du D.A.G. est automatiquement enrichi des nouvelles formes et nouveaux lemmes ainsi définis. Il est alors possible de produire la concordance finale et ses nombreux outils dérivés. Dans la concordance finale, les formes identiques sont groupées sous leur lemme propre, et classées soit dans l'ordre alphabétique du contexte qui suit, soit dans l'ordre du texte.

Comme il y a plusieurs manières de lire un texte, il y a aussi plusieurs manières de «lire» une concordance lemmatisée. Celle-ci peut livrer un grand nombre d'informations sur les auteurs, leur style et leur manière de travailler, ainsi que sur leur milieu et leur mentalité.

a) Sources

L'utilité la plus obvie et la plus connue d'une concordance est de permettre l'identification rapide d'un passage ou d'une citation dans un corpus étendu. Lorsque Théophane prétend citer Grégoire de Nazianze,

(30) HAURY ed., I, p. 386.

(31) HAURY ed., I, p. 544.

(32) PAPE, *Wörterbuch*, p. 18.

il faut consulter la concordance de ce dernier pour localiser le passage cité, mais aussi pour comparer le modèle et la citation qui en est faite. En l'occurrence, le chroniqueur byzantin (67, 12 : ζητῶ μου τὸ χθὲς ὑμῶν σφάγιον, τὸν Ἀβραμιαῖον γέροντα) ne reproduit pas exactement le texte du théologien du IV^e s. (GREG. NAZ., *Or.* 33, 5 [PG 36, col. 221 A 13-14] : ζητῶ μου τὸ χθὲς ὑμῶν σφάγιον τὸν γέροντα καὶ Ἀβραμιαῖον πατέρα).

Dans le cas de deux auteurs lemmatisés en parallèle, comme Procope et Théophane par exemple, la concordance est un outil extrêmement précieux pour étudier où et comment le second s'est servi de l'œuvre du premier comme source.

Procope fait intervenir un personnage nommé Adolios (Ἀδόλιος), et Théophane un certain Adoulios (Ἀδούλιος). La concordance, qui donne la forme dans son contexte, permet de rapprocher THEOPH. 220, 21 (Διογένην δὲ τὸν δορυφόρον καὶ Ἀδούλιον, ἄνδρα Ἀρμένιον) et PROC., *De Bellis*, II, 21, 2 (Διογένην δὲ τὸν δορυφόρον καὶ Ἀδόλιον τὸν Ἀκακίου, ἄνδρα Ἀρμένιον γένος) (33), et indique qu'il s'agit du même personnage. Un lemme unique devrait donc s'imposer pour les deux graphies. De la même manière, il faut noter que l'historien byzantin Georges Cedrenos, qui copie en cet endroit Théophane, utilise également la forme Ἀδούλιον (34).

Théophane préserve les noms de personnages Ἄμερ (accusatif Ἄμερα) et Ἀμεργοῦς. Les deux formes Ἄμερα (188, 4 et 10) désignent un prince vandale, et Ἄμερ (405, 28) un chef arabe ; à première vue, elles peuvent toutes êtres placées sous un lemme Ἄμερ (pour lequel il faudra encore distinguer un lemme homographe, ἄμερ) (35). La concordance montrera cependant que les deux Ἄμερα désignent le même personnage qu'un certain Ὅάμερ chez Procope (*De Bellis*, III, 9, 2 ; III, 9, 9 ; III, 9, 14 ; III, 17, 12), Théophane ayant lu ce dernier nom en ὁ Ἄμερ. La comparaison des contextes indiquera ensuite que l'expression de Procope Ὅάμερ γοῦν a créé une confusion dans l'esprit de Théophane, qui y a vu un personnage appelé Ἀμεργοῦς :

(33) HAURY ed., I, p. 243.

(34) H. ADJARIAN, *Dictionnaire prosopographique arménien*, I, Beyrouth, 1972, p. 50-51, présente le nom comme étant d'origine iranienne.

(35) Cfr E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I, New York, s.d., p. 125.

PROC., *De Bellis*, III, 9, 1-2 : ... καὶ οὐδὲ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ὦτα τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ τοῦτο ἐθέλων ἰέναι. Ὅαμερ γοῦν ἀνεψιός τε ὢν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια ἐστρατήγει... (36).

THEOPH., 187, 22-24 : καὶ οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαι ἤθελε τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα. Ἀμεργοῦς δέ, ὁ τούτου ἀδελφιδός, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια ἐστρατήγει... (37).

Cette erreur, qui résulte d'une utilisation incorrecte de la source, entraînera la création d'une entrée lexicale distincte, Ἀμεργοῦς. Elle pointe aussi un passage discuté sur le plan de l'ecdotique : au lieu de la forme Ὅαμερ, certains manuscrits de Procope proposent ἄμερ ou ὁ ἄμερ.

Les deux cas présentés ci-dessus montrent que la divergence des graphies n'oblitére pas la question des sources, et que la lemmatisation n'est pas une opération séparée de l'interprétation du texte.

b) Style et formules

La consultation des noms propres dans une concordance est particulièrement utile pour l'étude des sources ; la même opération pour les noms communs, et souvent même pour les termes les plus fréquents, apporte une autre moisson de renseignements. En effet, par le classement alphabétique des formes et des contextes qui suivent la forme, la concordance rapproche les passages identiques et permet de relever des expressions ou formules récurrentes, des associations lexicales, etc. ; ce regroupement des contextes selon les expressions identiques permet («ne fut-ce que par le dessin formé par la répétition des mêmes suites de caractères les uns en-dessous des autres») (38) d'identifier un «usus scribendi» des auteurs.

L'adjectif ἀκριβής, par exemple, apparaît 78 fois dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Procope (plus trois occurrences au superlatif) ; sur ces emplois, 69 présentent le neutre singulier ἀκριβές, et chaque fois dans la même expression ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές ! Cette expression n'apparaît qu'une seule fois chez Théophane (290, 17). De même, pour un terme plus fréquent encore, comme la conjonction ἀλλά (chez Procope : 812 occurrences, plus 592 occurrences de la forme ἀλλ'), la concordance indique immédiatement dans quelles expressions elle apparaît de ma-

(36) HAURY ed., I, p. 351.

(37) DE BOOR ed., p. 187.

(38) TOMBEUR, *Informatique et lexicographie philosophique*, p. 201.

nière fréquente : ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο, etc. La largeur du contexte fourni est un élément indispensable pour relever ces regroupements, qu'il est difficile d'observer de la même manière sur un écran, par exemple.

c) Évolution du lexique

L'examen des index et concordances visualise, mieux qu'un dictionnaire, l'histoire de la langue, en permettant de repérer les termes qui tombent progressivement en désuétude ou qui changent de signification au cours du temps. Pour ne prendre que quelques exemples tirés des premiers lemmes de l'ordre alphabétique, il apparaît entre autres que la préposition ἀμφί, utilisée par Procope à 636 reprises, ne revient que quatre fois dans l'œuvre de Théophane, et que ces quatre occurrences sont toutes des reproductions du texte de Procope lui-même : THEOPH., 195, 28 = PROC., *De Bellis*, IV, 3, 10 ; THEOPH., 201, 9 = PROC., *De Bellis*, IV, 11, 53 ; THEOPH., 203, 24 = PROC., *De Bellis*, IV, 15, 11 ; THEOPH., 205, 6 = PROC., *De Bellis*, IV, 17, 24. Ce terme n'est donc pas inconnu du chroniqueur byzantin, mais ne fait plus partie de son lexique usuel. Les adverbes et prépositions ἄγχι et ἀγχοῦ et l'adjectif ἄγχιστος, qui sont utilisés par Procope (respectivement 7, 33 et 181 occurrences), sont totalement absents chez Théophane, en dépit de l'influence du premier sur le second en tant que source. Mais il s'agit de terme «marqués» comme épiques ou poétiques, et c'est Procope qui se singularise ici, car ces termes sont peu fréquents dans les œuvres des IV^e et V^e s. également (absents chez Amphiloque, chez le Pseudo-Denys et chez Grégoire de Nazianze, sauf une occurrence de ἄγχιστος dans les *Carmina*). Il en va de même pour l'adjectif ἀνήκεστος, «incurable ; funeste», fréquent chez Procope (62 occurrences) et utilisé une seule fois par Théophane. De tels exemples contribuent à donner du style de Procope une image plus claire et témoignent de l'affectation classicisante, voire archaïsante de l'historien de Justinien.

En matière d'évolution sémantique du lexique, le cas du terme ἀνατολή est particulièrement significatif : il n'est utilisé que 7 fois par Procope et uniquement dans le sens temporel, dans différentes expressions désignant le lever du soleil (ἀμφὶ/περὶ [τοῦ] ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, ἐξ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν). Théophane, quant à lui, qui y recourt à 58 reprises, lui donne toujours une acception géographique, désignant l'Orient.

d) Langue et mentalité

La comparaison des concordances, en permettant d'analyser l'usage que les auteurs font de certains mots, fournit aussi des informations sur la mentalité de ces auteurs.

Ainsi, le terme *ἀεί* apparaît seulement neuf fois chez Théophane, dont un emploi dans une doxologie, alors que Procope y recourt à 400 reprises, et naturellement jamais dans une doxologie. Dans le même registre sémantique, le mot *αἰών* est utilisé 41 fois par Procope, et toujours au singulier, alors que Théophane y recourt seulement neuf fois, dont trois fois au pluriel dans des formules doxologiques. Les deux emplois du terme au datif chez Procope apparaissent dans la formule *ἐν τῷ παντί αἰῶνι*, tandis que les trois emplois au datif chez Théophane servent à former l'expression, parallèle mais au contenu différent, *ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι*. Ces fréquences opposent clairement deux conceptions du temps et de l'éternité chez deux historiens, représentées l'une par un auteur appartenant à la tradition classique, plus particulièrement aristotélienne, et l'autre par un auteur d'inspiration chrétienne. À titre de comparaison et de confirmation, la concordance d'Amphiloque montre que chez cet écrivain chrétien, sur 31 occurrences du terme *αἰών*, il y a 23 emplois au pluriel, dont 22 dans des formules doxologiques.

CONCLUSION GÉNÉRALE

Les informations que fournissent à la fois le travail de la lemmatisation et le produit fini que constitue la concordance lemmatisée, sont innombrables. La lemmatisation exige une réelle compréhension du texte, qui transparaît nécessairement dans la concordance lemmatisée ; c'est pourquoi celle-ci est bien plus qu'une liste de mots ou de fréquences. La concordance est une grille de lecture du texte, qui offre à l'utilisateur des clés d'accès directes, nombreuses et originales. L'utilisateur ne doit pas seulement consulter la concordance, mais aussi la «lire» : «Il ne s'agit pas, d'abord, d'utilisations de concordances ou d'index divers, ni de bases de données de différents ordres : ce qui est finalement en cause, c'est un type de rapport au texte, une façon d'être intérieurement, la prise de conscience de la dialectique même de l'objectivité et de la

subjectivité...» (39). Les exemples utilisés dans cette étude sont tirés d'une expérience qui en est encore à ses débuts, mais ils laissent entrevoir ce que permettront ses développements ultérieurs, lorsqu'il sera possible de comparer les auteurs classiques avec les auteurs byzantins, les auteurs chrétiens avec les auteurs profanes, ou d'analyser l'évolution d'un genre littéraire donné (comme la comparaison de Procope et de Théophane le propose de manière encore fragmentaire pour l'historiographie) ou encore de visualiser l'évolution du lexique grec, par période et par genre littéraire, etc. La carrière vient à peine de s'ouvrir, mais elle promet déjà de belles trouvailles.

APPENDICE I

Concordances publiées dans la série *Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum* :

- J. MOSSAY et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni. Orationes, Epistulae, Testamentum*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1990, XXI + 218 pp. et 50 microfiches (268.327 formes).
- J. MOSSAY, B. COULIE, adiuvente C. DETIENNE, et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni. Carmina, Christus Patiens, Vita*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1991, XVI + 173 pp. et 30 microfiches (135.723 formes).
- J. NORET et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Leontii presbyteri Constantinopolitani*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1992, XVIII + 70 pp. et 8 microfiches (30.819 formes).
- M. NASTA et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Pseudo-Dionysii Areopagitae. Textus Graecus cum translationibus Latinis*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1993, XLIV + 102 pp. et 46 microfiches (59.565 formes).
- B. COULIE et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Amphilochei Iconiensis*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1994, XXII + 73 pp. et 9 microfiches (38.740 formes).
- B. COULIE, L. F. SHERRY et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Pseudo-Nonni, Paraphrasis evangelii secundum Iohannem*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1995, XXVI + 67 pp. et 7 microfiches (23.391 formes).

Concordances en préparation dans la série *Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum* :

- B. COULIE, P. YANNOPOULOS et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Theophanis Confessoris*.

(39) TOMBEUR, *Informatique et lexicographie philosophique*, p. 188, et aussi p. 189 : «l'informatique appliquée aux textes et englobant des méthodes d'analyse linguistique a (ou doit avoir) une perspective bien différente de celle, purement utilitaire et commode, de retrouver des références, des contextes et de produire des statistiques. Les maîtres mots demeurent : heuristique, herméneutique, épistémologie».

- B. COULIE, B. KINDT et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Procopii Caesariensis*.
 B. COULIE, J. SCHAMP et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Photii Constantinopolitani*.
 B. COULIE et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Sancti Basilii Caesariensis*.
 Ph. HENNE et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Patrum Apostolicorum*.
 F. NEYT et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Barsanuphii*.
 P. VAN DEUN et CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Sancti Athanasii Alexandriae*.

APPENDICE II

Liste des instruments dérivés disponibles avec les concordances ⁽⁴⁰⁾ :

1. *Enumeratio lemmatum* : index général des lemmes, classés dans l'ordre alphabétique, avec fréquence générale ou spécifique.
2. *Enumeratio lemmatum et formarum* : index général des lemmes, classés dans l'ordre alphabétique, avec fréquence générale ou spécifique, et liste des formes dérivées de chaque lemme avec fréquence générale ou spécifique.
3. *Index formarum et lemmatum* : index alphabétique des formes traitées, avec fréquence, et en regard leur lemme respectif avec fréquence générale du lemme ; cet outil montre comment les formes ont été lemmatisées, et constitue un index de renvoi.
4. *Index lemmatum a tergo ordinatorum* : index inverse des lemmes, avec fréquence ; révélateur des types de formations lexicales attestés.
5. *Index formarum a tergo ordinarum* : index inverse des formes, instrument qui permet e.a. des recherches de type grammatical.
6. *Index formarum* : liste de toutes les formes du texte, classées dans l'ordre alphabétique.
7. *Concordantia formarum* : concordance des formes, dans l'ordre alphabétique, avec références et contexte.
8. *Tabulae frequentiarum* : classement des lemmes selon leur fréquence.
9. À partir d'un corpus de plusieurs textes, il est possible de générer un index des lemmes selon les siècles, ou selon les genres littéraires, ou selon les auteurs, etc.

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(40) Cfr TOMBEUR, *Thesaurus*, p. 54-66 et *Thesaurus Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni*, I, p. VII-VIII.

THE EMPEROR BASIL II'S CULTURAL LIFE

INTRODUCTION

This analysis of the First Book of Michael Psellos' *Chronographia* ⁽¹⁾, consecrated to the figure of the Emperor Basil II (960-1025), is aimed at strengthening Joan Hussey's point that

In spite of the remarks made by Psellos or Anna Comnena, and in spite of certain lapses, such as the inadequate provision for the study of Law in the first half of the eleventh century, the Macedonian period had no serious breach in the continuity of scholarship ⁽²⁾.

While Hussey admits that this continuity "depended on the Emperor's attitude" ⁽³⁾, she nonetheless states that

With Basil II the imperial anxiety to stimulate knowledge certainly disappeared ⁽⁴⁾.

Yet Basil's exceptionally long reign (over fifty years) and the centripetal concentration of power at his court in Constantinople ⁽⁵⁾ makes it highly likely that, had he applied his influence to the cultural field, he would have exerted as determinant an impact as that of the scholar-Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959). It is therefore legitimate to look for evidence of Basil's interest in literary and artistic production.

(1) MICHAEL PSELLOS, ed. IMPELLIZZERI, S., *La Cronografia di Michele Psello*, Italian translation and commentary by RONCHEY, S., Roma, 1984, I. ch. 1-37, pp. 8-55. References to the Greek text will be given according to this edition. The English translation by SEWTER, E. R. A., *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, Harmondsworth, 1966, pp. 27-49, is occasionally wayward. Cfr. also RENAULD, E., edition and French transl., 2 vols., Paris, 1926-1928.

(2) HUSSEY, J. M., *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire 867-1185*, London, 1937, p. 38.

(3) HUSSEY, *Church and Learning*, p. 38.

(4) HUSSEY, *Church and Learning*, p. 37.

(5) Cfr. AHRWEILER, H., *Recherches sur la société byzantine au XI^e siècle : nouvelles hiérarchies et nouvelles solidarités*, in *TM*, 6 (1976), pp. 99-124, esp. pp. 104-105.

The negative assessment of Basil's cultural life by historians like Vasiliev and Ostrogorsky is explained by their particular focus on the emperor's military achievements. Equally, cultural historians deemed that wars kept Basil too busy for any active participation in cultural life (6). Associating him with his military predecessors, Nicephoros II Phokas (963-969) and John I Tzimisces (969-976), Lemerle grants that Basil made one important contribution to culture : he assured the peace necessary for the cultural flourishing of subsequent generations (7).

The unanimity of judgement upon Basil is striking because of the close similarity between its various formulations. For Ostrogorsky,

Basil had no time for art and learning. The art of rhetoric ... was completely abhorrent to him (8).

Bury reports that

culture was not patronised, but discouraged and scorned by the emperor (9).

According to Vasiliev,

Basil II treated scholars with disdain (10).

The cutting edge of these remarks is explained by their common source. Often quoted in the main text, at times hidden in a footnote, this is the passage that lies behind all of them :

Consequently he [Basil] paid no attention to men of learning ; he affected utter scorn — towards the learned folk, I mean. It seems to me a wonderful thing, therefore, that while the emperor so despised literary culture, no small crop of orators and philosophers sprang up in those times (11).

(6) For example, KYRIAKIS, M. J., *The University : Origin and Early Phases in Constantinople*, in *Byz.*, 41 (1971), pp. 161-182, p. 169 : "the interval from 957 to 1025 (the reign of Basil II) was one of bloody and all-out warfare with Byzantium fighting the Bulgars".

(7) LEMERLE, P., *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*, Paris, 1970, pp. 193-241, esp. pp. 195 and 197.

(8) OSTROGORSKY, G., *History of the Byzantine State*, Engl. transl. by HUSSEY, J. M., Oxford, 1956 ; 1989, p. 305.

(9) BURY, J. B., *Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos (A.D. 976-1025)*, in *Selected Essays*, TEMPERLEY, M., ed., Cambridge, 1930, pp. 126-214, p. 141 and n. 1.

(10) VASILIEV, A. A., *History of the Byzantine Empire 324-1453*, Madison, 1952, p. 366.

(11) Ch. 29, ll. 11-17, p. 42-43 ; Engl. transl., p. 44.

Everyone is aware that Psellos is a treacherous source of information, yet his rhetorical skills seem inevitably to cast a spell capable of blunting even the keenest of critical acuity.

Our discussion will be threefold. First, Psellos' method of writing will be unfolded, with special reference to the episode of the exile of the great eunuch Basil. Secondly, the key passage quoted above will be restored to its context, and its newly defined meaning weighed against other historical evidence concerning Basil's *entourage*: it will be shown that it is insufficient to take Psellos' judgement at face value. Finally, the question of the supposed 'character change' of Basil will be tackled, in order to challenge the coherence of Psellos' psychological insights. A re-assessment of Basil's conversion will be offered on the basis of indirect evidence in Psellos' account.

Psellos' account, when taken in its entirety, will be shown to offer no conclusive evidence against Basil's participation in the cultural life of his reign. On the contrary, there are elements which favour a positive re-evaluation of this emperor (12).

I: PSELLOS' ACCOUNT

1. *Outline*

The *Chronographia* is divided into seven books. Each book deals with the figure of one emperor in the succession, starting with Basil II (976) and ending with Nikephoros Botaneiates (1077). The starting point may have been chosen so as to cover a span of one hundred years, thus making the oeuvre into an *'Εκατονταετηρίς'* (13). Its abrupt start may show that it was intended as the continuation of the *History* of Leo the Deacon (14), that ended at the death of Tzimisce (†976) (15).

(12) Basil is best known as the Bulgar-Slayer (and an attempt at reconciling cruelty and sensitivity may seem an impossible enterprise), but the epithet of 'Bulgaroctonus' was first attached to Basil's name by Nicetas Choniates, writing between 1180 and 1210. His elder brother, Michael Choniates, still ranked Basil among the greatest Emperors of Byzantium together with Heraklios.

(13) BURY, *Roman Emperors*, p. 128.

(14) LEO DIACONUS, *Historia*, Bonn, 1828, vol. 33.

(15) Cfr. the introduction by DEL CORNO, D., in Impellizzeri's edition (pp. I-XLIII), p. XXXIII and at n. 4: the two works are found together in the only complete extant manuscript, the *Paris. gr.* 1712, of the thirteenth century.

In spite of these apparent signs of continuity, Psellos' intention was to break with the tradition of Byzantine historiography: it was to compose 'readable memoirs' (16), where objective information was interlaced with subjective experience, in order to go beyond the stereotyped method of chronological narrative.

The chapter on Basil is symptomatic of all the features of Psellos' idiosyncratic method of writing history. A schematic correspondence (see below) established between historical events and the chapters of Psellos' account shows that the events of Basil's life included in it are very select: it would appear that Psellos is only interested in internal affairs. There are only three one-line references to Basil's foreign campaigns, imprecisely mentioning a 'barbarian' opponent: I have grouped them, for lack of discriminating criteria, under the Bulgarian war. Psellos does not mention any of the dealings with the Tsar Vladimir, including the marriage of Basil's sister Anna, that led to the final conversion of Russia. Moreover, the proportion of text dedicated to each happening is highly personal: for example, six chapters are occupied by Sclerus' peace-settlement with Basil (ch. 23-28), while only two mention — in passing — the contents of Basil's Novel of 996 (ch. 20 and 30).

It will be helpful to divide Psellos' First Book into six sections, plus a final appendix. Each section is constituted by a main body of narrative, to which a descriptive chapter, designated in square brackets, is often added, forming a regular pattern. A comparison of Psellos' text to the chronological order of events points to a re-adjustment of history for the sake of narrative.

Date	Historical Event (17)	Psellos, Book 1
958	Birth as son of Romanos II (†963)	
		Section I : ch. 1-4
960	Basil and Constantine are crowned co-emperors	ch. 1-2
976	†Tzimisces ; Basil and the Great Eunuch Basil	ch. 3[4]
		Section II : ch. 5-9
	1st civil war : revolt of Bardas Sclerus	ch. 5-6
978	Battles Sclerus - Phokas (Amorium)	ch. 7-8
	Sclerus flees to the Caliph of Baghdad	ch. 9
		Section IV : ch. 19-22
985	Exile of the Great Eunuch Basil	ch. 19-21[22]

(16) BURV, *Roman Emperors*, p. 132.

(17) Events not mentioned in Psellos' account are in italics.

Section III : ch. 10-18

- 986 *1st Balkan campaign*
 987 2nd civil war : Sclerus is subordinate to Phokas ch. 10-12
 988 Battle of Chrysopolis : aid from Varangian troops ch. 13-14

Section V : ch. 23-29

- 989 Battle of Abydos : †Phokas ch. 15-17[18]
 Sclerus continues revolt : peace settlement ch. 23-28[29]
Tsar Vladimir is baptised and marries Anna
 991 *Basil invades Macedonia*
 995 *Basil fights Fatimids at Aleppo*
 996 Basil's Novel (ch. 20, 30)
 997 *Nicephoros Ouranos vs. Samuel (Peloponnese)*
 1001 *Basil's Bulgarian campaigns* (ch. 22, l. 20 ;
 1014 *Victory at Belaria mountains : †Samuel* ch. 23, l. 1 ;
 1018 †*John Vladislav* ch. 31, ll. 25-26)

Section VI : ch. 30-37

- 1020 *Conquests in Armenia : †Gagik I*
 1025 †Basil II (15 December) ch. 37

Other chapters of the *Chronographia*, Book I :

- ch. 30-33 Internal affairs : finances ; military techniques
 ch. 34-36 Basil's physical and psychological description

2. *The episode of the eunuch Basil*

The main, though not the only ⁽¹⁸⁾, chronological problem in Psellos' narrative is already apparent : while the exile of the eunuch Basil took place in 985, between Sclerus' revolt and Phokas' renewed challenge ⁽¹⁹⁾, Psellos postpones it until after Phokas' death (Section IV). The possibility that Psellos' source was already confused about that event is made unlikely by internal pointers in the account itself : while in ch. 5 the revolt of Bardas Sclerus is answered by the concern of a group of counsellors who decided to employ Phokas to defend the emperor's

(18) In ch. 6, we are told that Bardas Phokas is forced to become a monk ; in fact, he had already taken orders under John Tzimisce. In ch. 11, Sclerus is said to have come back after Phokas' crowning ; Phokas was crowned in mid-August, Sclerus came back in April. In ch. 14, at the decisive battle against Phokas, Basil is described as a youth : "he had just grown a beard" ; he was then thirty years old.

(19) Scholars are unanimous in designating 985 as the date of the expulsion of the eunuch Basil, following Yahya's dating : SCHLUMBERGER, M. G., *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du x^e siècle. Basil le Tueur de Bulgares*, 2 vols., Paris, 1900, I, p. 573. RUNCIMAN, S., *A History of the first Bulgarian Empire*, London, 1930, also accepts this date : cfr. DER NERSESSIAN, S., *Remarks on the date of the Menologium and the Psalter written for Basil II*, in *Byz.*, 15 (1940-41), pp. 104-125, p. 113 and n. 39.

right to rule (20), ch. 33 presents Basil himself taking measures against the new threat posed by Phokas, who had turned from collaborator to enemy (21). The first event took place in 976, the second in 988 : Basil had in the meantime taken steps to secure power in his own hands by the expulsion of the eunuch.

One effect of the altered order of events is to obscure the real threat that the eunuch posed to the emperor because of the former's ever-growing power. It appears that the eunuch had schemed to take advantage of Phokas' position at court (22) in order to forestall Basil's move towards reclaiming his authority. Indeed, although Psellos had initially presented the relationship between emperor and eunuch as one of pupil and teacher, entailing only a temporary duration of the subordination (23), the rightful legitimacy of Basil's independence is overshadowed by the eunuch's presence in the relevant chapters.

Psellos' placing of the great eunuch's exile after the conclusion of civil strife increases the sense of Basil's ungratefulness towards his adviser. The causal connexion between the victory gained over Phokas and the emperor's appropriation of all glory for himself by the rude dismissal of the eunuch is underpinned by the opening phrase of ch. 19 :

οὐκ ἔτι οὖν οὐδὲν παραχωρεῖν ... ἐβούλετο (24).

Moreover, the bitterness with which the exile is described, and the postponement of its date, enable Psellos to draw a connexion between the content of the Novel of Basil and this episode, presenting it as an act of retaliation and cruelty to increase the disgrace of the once over-powerful eunuch. In reality, the Novel in which Basil discriminated between his own approved decrees, and those promulgated without his personal approval (which he revoked), was only issued in 996, eleven years after the eunuch's expulsion. A rather slow reaction, in that case.

(20) Ch. 5, ll. 11-12, p. 14 : *αἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα* ; ll. 13-14 : *ἔπειτα δὲ συλλεξάμενοι ἑαυτοὺς καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄλων γνωσιμαχήσαντες.*

(21) Ch. 13, l. 1, p. 22 : *Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Βασίλειος.* It is the first chapter that opens thus.

(22) In fact, we are told that Phokas was associated to the apparatus of government after his victory over Sclerus : cfr. ch. 10, ll. 2-3, p. 18 : *τοῖς τε περὶ τὸν βασιλέα συναρίθμιος ἐτύγγανε ὦν.*

(23) In ch. 3.

(24) Ch. 19, ll. 1-2, p. 28. "Therefore [because he had freed himself of Phokas' power], he no longer wanted to give in over anything..." to the power of the eunuch (my translation).

Psellos' unexplicit freedom in composing his own narrative should warn us against accepting it at face value. Hussey had already remarked that 'Psellos is never consistent' (25). It suffices at times to be alert to his inconsistencies, to uncover the ingenuous quality of his manipulations.

Although Psellos is keen to emphasize Basil's cruel behaviour to the great eunuch of imperial descent (26), he does not renounce the opportunity to give a psychological insight into Basil. Basil's decision was formed thus :

Πολλοῖς δὲ περὶ τούτου κυμαινόμενος λογισμοῖς καὶ πολλὰς λαμβάνων μεταβολὰς καὶ τροπὰς, ἅπαξ ποτὲ κρατήσαντος τοῦ λογισμοῦ <γίνεται> καὶ μεθίστησιν ἀθρόως τῆς διοικήσεως τὸν παρακοιμώμενον,... (27).

Basil's hesitation is described by the metaphor of 'clashing waves' (*κυμαινόμενος*). The image is a classical dramatisation of the restlessness of passions (28), in this context emphasizing the conflictual depth of Basil's involvement in the decision concerning the eunuch. Basil emerges hardly like a brutal man of action, nor even like a harsh pragmatist.

The episode of the eunuch's expulsion from court is merely a negative instance of what, in a later chapter, is presented as an ambivalent trait of Basil's character.

He [Basil] was slow to adopt any course of action, but never would he willingly alter the decision once it was taken. Consequently, his attitude to friends was unvaried, unless perchance he was compelled by the necessity to revise his estimate of them. Similarly, where he had burst out into anger against someone, he did not quickly moderate his indignation. Whatever estimate he formed, indeed, was to him irrevocable and divinely inspired judgement (29).

Therefore Basil's determination in acting against the great eunuch could not have been the fruit of a particular hatred, but simply the firm

(25) HUSSEY, *Church and Learning*, p. 44.

(26) Basil the *parakoimomenos* was a bastard son of Romanus I Lecapenus (920-924) ; Basil's cruelty is that of turning against one of his own family.

(27) Ch. 19, ll. 11-14, p. 30 ; Engl. transl., p. 38 : "He [Basil] gave the subject much thought, and it was only after long vacillation that he finally made up his mind. Once the decision was taken, however, he dismissed the *parakoimomenus* and deposed him at one blow".

(28) Cfr. AESCH., *Theb.* 443 ; PIND., *P.* 4. 282.

(29) Ch. 34, ll. 12-17, p. 50 ; Engl. transl., p. 48.

course of action he would normally have undertaken after making up his mind.

Lest we be left with the impression of a stubborn emperor whose decisions were irrevocable, Psellos had nuanced this aspect as well :

Generally, he persisted in his opinions, but there were occasions when he did change his mind. In many cases, too, he traced crimes back to their original causes, and the final links in the chain were exonerated. So most defaulters obtained forgiveness, either through sympathetic understanding, or because he showed some other interest in their affairs ⁽³⁰⁾.

‘Psellos is never consistent’. All the more, therefore, it is of the utmost importance to examine the text in its entirety, to bring to light its contradictions, and allow one passage to correct and put into perspective another. Psellos is never consistent, but neither is he totally incoherent.

Psellos, who remains for us the most contemporary source ⁽³¹⁾, is often praised for the amount of detail in his writings. Such detail accounts for the vivid quality of the episodes he narrates, but is hardly synonymous with trustworthy accuracy. Particular care must be taken not to extrapolate from a striking episode a more general state of affairs.

Such is the temptation for the reader of ch. 20. In scheming to efface as much as possible the previous signs of power of the great eunuch, Basil undertakes the destruction of the monastery dedicated to Basil the Great, that the eunuch had erected and endowed as a kind of memorial to his own greatness. But not quite.

The emperor now wished to raze this edifice to the ground. However, since he was careful to avoid the charge of impiety, only certain parts of the monastery were removed, and not all those at once. Other parts he demolished, and the rest of the building, the movable furniture and the mosaics, he treated much in the same way. He never rested content until, in his own jesting words, ‘he had made of this place of meditation a place of thought’ — the thought which those who dwelt there would now have to take for the bare necessities of life ! ⁽³²⁾.

(30) Ch. 34, ll. 8-12, p. 50 ; Engl. transl., p. 48.

(31) Kedrenos and Zonaras are later, and mostly based on Psellos account. See BURY, *Roman Emperors*, p. 127.

(32) Ch. 20, ll. 16-22, p. 30-31 ; Engl. transl. p. 39.

In fact, there is no evidence of a dramatic interruption of activity at the monastery of Basil the Great. In 985, the year of the eunuch's exile, the monastery produced a manuscript which is still extant. Later on, the monastery was still of imperial status (*βασιλικός*) (33).

We are not therefore obliged to see in Basil's action anything more than an attempt at purifying monastic practice. The Greek does not imply that Basil's "care to avoid the charge of impiety" was a purely superficial concern. The monastery had been endowed with more than necessary (*τὸ πλεόν τοῦ ἀυτάρκους*), and had now returned to providing for its own material sustenance (*τὰ ἀναγκαῖα*), in conformity with, for example, the Studite model. Basil's balanced viewpoint on *charistikia* (34) and his concern to safeguard small monastic communities in the Novel of 996 (35) can be taken as pointers in the same direction.

Above all, we should refrain from extrapolating from this episode to a supposed destructive policy with respect to architecture. Basil undertook the restoration of the collapsed structures of Hagia Sophia after the earthquake of 989; the works lasted six years, and the lifting devices used in the repair of the church alone cost ten *kentenaria* of gold (36). Furthermore, Basil took an interest in the ancient sacred

(33) JANIN, R., *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, 3 vols., Paris, 1969, vol. III, *Les églises et les monastères de l'empire byzantin*, pp. 58-60. The codex is *Leningrad b 1/5*, copied by the monk Michael under the higoumenos Basil. Cfr. LAKE, K. - LAKE, S., *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the year 1200*, 9 vols., Boston, 1938, VI, p. 424.

(34) Whilst Basil did not give his support to the patriarch Sisinnius II's (995-998) prohibition of *charistikia*, he signed the official pronouncement issued by Sergius II (999-1019) in 1016 against its excesses. Cfr. CHARANIS, P., *The monastic properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire*, in *DOP*, 4 (1948), pp. 53-118, p. 77.

(35) The Novel of 996 can be interpreted not just as an effort to limit the powers of the aristocracy, but also as a genuine attempt to legislate on the workings of monasticism at village level. This interpretation may acquire support from the thesis that the remarks on specific aristocratic families added to the text of the Novel, and traditionally reputed to be in Basil's own hand, were in fact late eleventh-century additions to the original text: cfr. SVORONOS, N. G., *Remarques sur la tradition du texte de la Nouvelle de Basil II concernant les puissants*, in *ZRVI*, 8 (1968), pp. 427-434. Basil's concern in this Novel was to protect small associations of individuals who had gathered around a country church to lead the religious life from being designated as a 'monastery'. These groups of eight to ten men were exempted from obligation to the local bishop, who therefore had no rights to seize their property, either to use it for his own benefit, or to pass it on to a lay potentate: cfr. MANGO, C., *Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980, pp. 116-117.

(36) For an assessment of the damage and the extent of Basil's work of restoration, see CUTLER, A., *The Psalter of Basil II*, in *Arte Veneta*, 30 (1976), pp. 9-19, at p. 14 and p. 16.

complex in the Hebdomon quarter, and it is probable that he restored the church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, and built a monastery adjacent to it (37).

Psellos himself adds a piece of evidence for Basil's constructions :

He had spiral galleries dug underground [in his palace], after the Egyptian style (38).

The Pharaonic devices served the purpose of storing his extraordinary wealth (39). It is clear that, contrary to what seems to emerge from Psellos' account, a part of such wealth sponsored architectural projects.

Psellos' tendentious account of the eunuch's exile is due to a personal dislike of absolute autocracy. As a courtier and counsellor to the emperor, no doubt partly in favour of his personal interests, Psellos advocated the ideal of a "government of the Philosophers" (40).

The exile episode marked the transition in Basil's reign from a co-operative form of government to single-handed rule. Moreover, the dismissal of the courtier *par excellence* is indicative of Basil's intention of choosing his own collaborators henceforth. Aware of the uncertainty of his own position at court, we can understand Psellos' sympathy with the unhappy end of the great eunuch. The description echoes with irony Psellos' own fall from grace and obscure death :

Suddenly cast down, in one brief moment, from his great position of power, this high and mighty man, whose heart had once been filled with pride, now became unable to govern his own body. His limbs were paralysed, and he a living corpse. Not long afterwards he died, in very truth a pillar of remembrance, his life a fine subject for story tellers, or, shall I say, a proof of the fickleness of all wordly fortune. Basil the *parakoimomenus* had fulfilled his destiny (41).

(37) Cfr. JANIN, *Les églises*, pp. 267-269. The extent of Basil's intervention is not certain. I report as probable Janin's conclusions.

(38) Ch. 31, ll. 15-16, p. 44 ; Engl. transl., p. 45.

(39) 200, 000 talents of gold. The Empire's treasury had never been so wealthy since Anastasius' reign in the sixth century. Cfr. ANGOLD, M., *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, London, 1984 ; 1988, p. 7.

(40) *A propos*, Hussey has a subtle remark : "the unevenness of his [Psellos] character and the weakness of his moral sense ill accord with his love of Plato" in *Church and Learning*, p. 44.

(41) Ch. 21, ll. 3-11, p. 32 ; Engl. transl., p. 39.

II : THE KEY PASSAGE

1. *Contextualization*

We can now turn back to the key passage, usually quoted in support of Basil's aversion for culture. By widening its context to the few preceding lines, we come to see its particular focus :

... as he grew older and became more experienced, he [Basil] relied *less* on the judgement of men wiser than himself. He alone introduced new measures, he alone disposed his military forces. As for the civil administration, he governed, not in accordance with the written laws, but following the unwritten details of his own intuition, which was most excellently equipped by nature for the purpose. *Consequently* (ὄθεν) he paid no attention to men of learning... (42).

As in the episode of the eunuch Basil, Psellos is here concerned to stress in a negative sense the emperor's autocracy. Psellos cannot go so far as to say that Basil had no co-operators. In fact, he can only hint that the acquired expertise made Basil somewhat free from counsellors. The Greek phrase is nuanced by a comparative particle :

ἀπροσδεῆς ὡσπερ τῶν σοφωτέρων ἐτύγγανεν ὦν (43),

all the more necessary as Psellos has just offered us a vivid description of the encounter between Basil and Bardas Sclerus on the occasion of the peace settlement (44). Psellos relished the narrative of this consultation, during which Basil asks Sclerus for his advice on how to wield power and keep the Empire united. The striking counsel offered to him corresponds exactly to Basil's choice of highly personal government (45). Whether or not this episode reflects reality, Psellos is presenting not only a counselled, but also an obediently listening Basil.

Basil is not alone, but the type of people surrounding him are not those Psellos would choose himself. It is clear that the intellectuals excluded from government are that particular breed of court philosophers of whom Psellos was so fond. What is translated with the

(42) Ch. 29, ll. 6-12, p. 42 ; Engl. transl., p. 43-44. My italics.

(43) Ch. 29, ll. 7-8, p. 42.

(44) Ch. 28, ll. 10-18, p. 40 ; Engl. transl., p. 43.

(45) BURY, *Roman Emperors*, p. 140 : "Zonaras took from Psellos his account of the meeting between Basil II and Sclerus, but he omitted what is perhaps the most interesting point about it — the advice which he gave to the young emperor".

generic phrase “men of learning” is designated in the Greek *λογίοις ἀνδράσιν*.

These men are mentioned in the following chapter, where a comparable phrase (*καί τινα λογάδα περὶ αὐτὸν πεποιηκῶς ἀνδρῶν*)⁽⁴⁶⁾ makes clear that what Psellos intends is no generic designation, but those excluded from Basil’s courtly following. In this second passage, Psellos is again criticising Basil’s methods of choosing his collaborators from among those whom he would be able to control. In particular, Basil was keen to keep the aristocratic families at bay. If he

surrounded himself with favourites who were neither remarkable for brilliance of intellect, nor of noble lineage, nor too learned⁽⁴⁷⁾

we may suggest that it was not because he despised culture, but because he was all too well aware of its power. It was not because he scorned rhetoric’s beauty, but because he was wary of its empty power of conviction, that Basil adopted a safer method of recruiting collaborators. Psellos did not approve of it.

2. *Men of learning around Basil’s court*

Just as there was no evidence for damage to the monastery of Basil the Great, so is there no evidence for the pedestrian nature of Basil’s circle. On the contrary, his closest collaborator was a man of letters, and, in his correspondence, a number of literary figures appear to surround the emperor.

The *Chronicle* of Yahya⁽⁴⁸⁾ describes Nicephoros Ouranos as Basil’s intimate friend. He had negotiated for Basil at Baghdad over Bardas Sclerus and had won the first important victory over Samuel of Bulgaria in 997. In the year 1000 he became governor of Antioch, and practically assured from this position the security of the Eastern border, while Basil was fighting the Bulgarians in the West.

(46) Ch. 30, l. 7, p. 42.

(47) Ch. 30, ll. 8-9, p. 42 ; Engl. transl., p. 44.

(48) *Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Said d’Antioche* (PO, 23), pp. 459-60 and 466-67 ; EUTYCHII PATRIARCHAE ALEXANDRINI, *Annales* (Accedunt Annales Yahya Ibn Said Antiochensis), CHIKO, L., CARRA DE VAUX, B. and ZAYYAT, H., edd., *CSCO*, vol. 51, t. 7 (Louvain, 1960). I have been unable to consult the Ph.D. dissertation of FORSYTH, J. H., *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle (938-1034) of Yahya b. Sa’id al-Antaki* (University of Michigan, 1977).

Nikephoros' best-known work is a *Taktikon*, a paraphrase of earlier sources on warfare, enriched by first-hand material based on his own experience. This treatise is still not published in definitive form (49).

Although Psellos emphasizes at first that Basil learnt the art of war on the battlefield, he later declares that the emperor acquired his fighting techniques in a two-fold manner :

Some he had read of in books, others he devised himself (50).

Nor do we need Psellos' witness to infer that Basil was interested in experimenting on the field with Nikephoros' innovations, and would have encouraged, if not directly sponsored, his friend's endeavour (51).

In his letters, Nikephoros makes the case that military activity is a service to God (52). The *Taktikon* also contains a revised and expanded version of the *Praecepta militaria*, consisting of regulations for the performance of religious services during military campaigns. His interest in the religious dimension of the battlefield reflected the contemporary imperial ideology : Basil chose for himself a portrait in military armour (53), where he stood surrounded by military saints. Cutler's analysis of the miniature in the Venice Psalter compares the emperor's stance to that of the representation of Theodore Stratelates in another illuminated manuscript which Basil commissioned, the *Menologium*, now in the Vatican library (54).

The *Menologium* is a splendid witness to Basil's other main interest : Lives of Saints (only 1 September to the end of February survive). Text and image divide the page in two equal halves. The miniatures,

(49) Partial editions are by DAIN, A., *La Tactique de Nicéphore Ouranos*, Paris, 1937 and DE FOUCAULT, J.-A., *Douze chapitres inédits de la Tactique de Nicéphore Ouranos*, in *TM*, 5 (1973), pp. 281-312.

(50) Ch. 33, ll. 2-3, p. 46 ; Engl. transl., p. 46.

(51) ANGOLD, M., *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 78. He is the only historian who does not take Psellos at face value : "... there were educated men about Basil II, men like Nicephoros Ouranos, but the times dictated that he wrote military handbooks rather than philosophical treatises".

(52) DARROUZÈS, J., *Epistoliers byzantins du x^e siècle*, Paris, 1960, pp. 217-248. E.g. Letter 5, pp. 219-220. These letters in themselves deserve a more detailed study.

(53) GRABAR, A., *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936 ; repr. London, 1971, p. 86 at n. 4, declares that, in so doing, Basil set a trend for the eleventh and twelfth century imperial portraits.

(54) CUTLER, *The Psalter*, p. 14b. The *Menologium* codex is *Vaticanus graecus* 1613.

430 in all, were the work of eight different painters, who inscribed their names on their illustrations ⁽⁵⁵⁾.

The Menologium has not escaped that typical mode of analysis of any figurative representation during the so-called Macedonian Renaissance, that is, the intense search for its Late Antique models. This method often precludes the appreciation of the quality of these mediaeval creations, reducing the discussion to a kind of guess-work around the hypothetical 'first model', now, of course, lost, and presenting the extant single and singular exemplar as a haphazard ring in this chain of copying ⁽⁵⁶⁾.

According to this type of analysis, then, striking similarities like that of the miniature of the Baptism of Christ in the Vatican Menologium, and the same subject in the Codex W 521 of the Walters Art Gallery only show that neither exhibited an innovative trend ⁽⁵⁷⁾. Since the copy, that is, the Baltimore codex, was probably produced for Michael IV Paphlagonian (1034-1041), its failure to show any important changes in style only thirty or forty years later than its model, the Menologium, indicates, according to Weitzmann, that "the years around the turn of the millennium were not a starting point for a new trend in miniature painting" ⁽⁵⁸⁾.

It could equally be argued, by analogy with current paleographical methods, that the miniatures of the Menologium became the model for subsequent illuminators. Just as a Greek script that is later consistently imitated is considered a 'canon', so can imitations such as that of the Baltimore Menologium be interpreted as pointers to a 'canonization'

(55) This is Shevchenko's interpretation of the 'signatures' in *The Illuminators of the Menologion of Basil II*, in *DOP*, 16 (1962), pp. 248-276. Frolov maintains that similarity in style cannot possibly conceal eight different hands: the names would be those of famous painters whose work was being copied from time to time in the Menologium: FROLOW, A., *L'origine des miniatures du Ménologe Vatican*, in *ZRVI*, 6 (1960), pp. 29-42.

(56) Typical of this type of analysis is WEITZMANN, K., *A tenth century lectionary. A lost masterpiece of the Macedonian Renaissance*, in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, London, 1980, X, pp. 617-41, 13 plates. The premise is that, even though no illuminated ancient lectionary is extant, one must have existed for use at the time. Such a hypothetical specimen would have mirrored the characteristics of the Macedonian Renaissance.

(57) WEITZMANN, K., *Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the eleventh century*, in *XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966*, London, 1967, pp. 207-224, and in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, XI, p. 272, fig. 261 and p. 273, fig. 262.

(58) WEITZMANN, *Byzantine Miniature*, p. 208.

of the miniatures of saints and major feasts in the Vatican Menologium (59).

Such an interpretation finds support in the observation that the text of the two codices is not the same. While the Vatican codex is a Synaxarion, the Baltimore one is a true Menologium, offering short Lives of Saints to be read during the month of January (60). The text of these Lives belongs to the edition of saints' Lives carried out by Symeon Metaphrastes at the time of Basil's rule (61).

Lemerle described the Metaphrastic endeavour as adding the chapter on religion and theology that was lacking to the Encyclopaedic gathering of knowledge started by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (62). Basil's times saw a flourishing of hagiographical writing (63). Nikephoros Ouranos himself dabbled in the genre, as his verses upon the Metaphrastes' death, describing their friendship as a literary *entente*, suggest (64). Another impressive hagiographical enterprise was that of Christophoros Mytileneos, writing in Constantinople during the first half of the eleventh century: he versified the calendar of Byzantine saints, composing for each saint a poem in Byzantine dodecasyllables and one in hexameters (65).

(59) Weitzmann does stress that innovative trends appeared in the Menologium. For example, the use of liturgical architectures in the illustration of the Feast of the Elevation of the Cross representing the ambon of Hagia Sophia that was adopted by the eleventh century lectionary *Athos Dion. 587*: WEITZMANN, K., *An Imperial Lectionary in the monastery of Dionysiu on Mount Athos. Its origins and its wanderings*, in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, XII, pp. 239-253, at p. 242.

(60) HALKIN, F., *Le mois de Janvier du 'Ménologe impérial' byzantin*, in *AB*, 57 (1939), pp. 225-36.

(61) The dates of Symeon Metaphrastes have been surrounded by uncertainty. It seems now accepted, however, that he died around the year 1000. Cfr. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, III, 1983-84.

(62) LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism*, Engl. Transl. by LINDSAY, H. and MOFFATT, A., Canberra, 1986, pp. 337-339, but he dates Symeon to the reign of Leo VI. It makes sense to think of this addition after the pattern of the Encyclopaedic enterprises that had started for secular subjects.

(63) Cfr. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 78: "The *synkellos* Stephen, the ex-metropolitan of Nikomedia, enjoyed a high reputation as a scholar, but much of his intellectual energy went into Basil's pet project for an official canon of saints' lives". No reference given.

(64) FOR MERCATI, S. G., *Versi di Niceforo Uranos in morte di Simeone Metafraste*, in *AB*, 68 (1950), pp. 126-134, these verses establish the Metaphrastes' dates.

(65) FOLLIERI, H., *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, Bruxelles, 1980 and her article, *Le poesie di Cristoforo Mitileneo come fonte storica*, in *ZRVI*, 8 (1964), pp. 133-148.

Poetry on religious subjects, introspective themes and also contemporary events, such as the earthquake of 989, was being written by John the Geometer (930 - ca. 990). Active in the army during the reigns of Basil's two predecessors (66), he then retreated to the monastery "tou Kyriou" at Constantinople, where he pursued his literary activity (67). Ouranos' special concern for the poet's monastery is revealed in a letter, in which he uses the expression "our monastery of Kyrios" (*ἡμῶν τοῦ Κυρίου*) (68). The letter, addressed to John Ostiarios, requests a just punishment for the villain who has gratuitously insulted the higoumenos of the monastery. Ouranos claims that an offence to the higoumenos is equal to an offence to the emperor, on the grounds that the monastery is

οὐ γὰρ θεῖος ναὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλικός (69).

Nikephoros' correspondence is addressed to members of the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchy, and overlaps with that of Leo of Synada (b. ca. 940), metropolitan, *synkellos*, diplomat and writer, whose collection includes letters addressed to Nikephoros Ouranos and to the Emperor Basil (70). It is clear, therefore, that a tight-knit group of intellectuals, bound to one another by a network of friendship that emerges through their correspondence, was revolving around Basil's court. The homogeneity of their subject matter, mostly hagiographical writings, suggests that their activity cohered around the emperor's expectations. The clear evidence of Basil's lavish patronage of the two extant illuminated manuscripts, the Venice Psalter and the Vatican Menologium, gives us some ground to infer that his interest in literary production did not remain purely theoretical, though we lack information about direct sponsorship.

Glossing Psellos' passage about the independent flourishing of literary talents during Basil's reign, Ronchey (71) draws up a short list, including Leo the Deacon, who was writing his *History* sometime after 992, John

(66) Nikephoros Phokas (963-996) and John Tzimiskes (969-976).

(67) Because of his connexion with this monastery, he is also called John Kyriotes.

(68) DARROUZÈS, *Epistoliers*, Letter 38, p. 238.

(69) DARROUZÈS, *Epistoliers*, Letter 38, p. 238, l. 7.

(70) VINSON, M. P., *The Correspondence of Leo, Metropolitan of Synada and Synkellus*, Washington, D.Ch., 1985. The Letter to Ouranos is n. 13, that to Basil is n. 43, but Letters 11 and 54 also make reference to him. Also in DARROUZÈS, *Epistoliers*, pp. 165-210.

(71) RONCHEY, S., in Impellizzeri's edition, at n. 91, pp. 349-350.

Sykeliotes and John the Geometer, with special mention of the charismatic and idiosyncratic figure of Symeon the New Theologian (72). In other words, figures apparently more loosely linked to the imperial establishment were active during Basil's reign. This remark gives partial support to Psellos' claim about the independence of the literary figures of the time.

3. *Descriptions*

Lastly, another passage extracted from Psellos is at times quoted in support of the claim of an uncivilized Basil: the description of the emperor's lack of oratory (73).

He was not a fluent speaker. The phrases were not rounded off, nor were they lengthened into periods. In fact, he clipped his words, with little pauses between them, *more like a peasant than a man with a good education* (74).

The comparison inherent in the description — more like ... than — is a literary device to give an idea of how Basil might have sounded like when speaking (75). Yet vividness of detail does not entail veracity. Psellos was only seven years old when Basil died, and it is therefore unlikely that he kept any first-hand memories of the emperor (76). Psellos alludes to his sources generically as

(72) *Discourses*, SC 96, 104, 113; Engl. transl. DE CATANZARO, Ch. J., in the series *The Classics of Western Spirituality*, New York/London, 1980. See also KRIVOCHÉINE, B., *The writings of Symeon the New Theologian*, in *OCP*, 20 (1954), pp. 300-325, and *In the light of Christ: St. Symeon the New Theologian*, New York, 1987.

(73) By BURY, *Roman Emperors*, p. 143; taken up by DER NERSESSIAN, *Remarks*, p. 114.

(74) Ch. 36, ll. 21-24, p. 52-54; Engl. transl., p. 49. My italics.

(75) The evaluation of manner of speech depends so greatly on Byzantine idiosyncracies in taste that it can hardly be considered objective. Compare, for example, Anna Comnena's judgement of Psellos' oratory in *Alexiad*, B. V, viii; Engl. transl. by SEWTER, E. R. A., Harmondsworth, 1969, p. 177: "His accent was what one would expect from a Latin youth who had come to our country and studied Greek thoroughly but without mastering our idiom; sometimes he mutilated syllables. Neither his defective pronunciation nor the clipping of sounds escaped the notice of most people and the better educated accused him of vulgarity. It was this that led him to string his arguments together with dialectic commonplaces...".

(76) In fact, the first three books of the *Chronographia* suffer from this lack of first hand knowledge. From 1034 onward, the account becomes fuller, as Psellos relies on his own experience.

τῶν ἀρχαιολογούντων περὶ αὐτὸν συγγραφέων (77)

or, as in the description of Bardas Sclerus,

ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει (78).

The emperor's *ipsissima verba* clearly reflect expressions that had become proverbial (79), and Psellos' interpretations of facts are based on hearsay (80). Even the careful physical descriptions need be no more than commonplaces, often based on the stereotyped characteristics of the leader and the courageous man (81).

We see that Psellos' accusation of disinterest towards culture had the much more limited scope of reproaching Basil for what Psellos thought was excessive autocracy. This picture of splendid isolation is undermined by the presence of what Psellos deemed unworthy collaborators. However, a quick look at the web of friendships around Basil has revealed that these figures, not aristocratic perhaps, were certainly not uncultured. On the contrary, their literary activity seemed inspired by the religious-military ideology that Basil put forth as programmatic of his reign, notably in his choice of the portrait for the Venice Psalter, and in the commission of at least one other illuminated manuscript, the Menologium.

III : BASIL'S CHARACTER CHANGE

1. *Dating*

A final example of how uncritically Psellos' account has been taken in scholarly literature is furnished by the first serious attempt to tackle the question of dating the Vatican Menologium. In her article, *Der Ner-*

(77) Ch. 4, l. 5, p. 12 ; Engl. transl., p. 29 : "the historians of that period who wrote about him".

(78) Ch. 7, l. 1, p. 16 ; Engl. transl., p. 31 : "According to the historians" ; or better by RONCHEY, p. 17 : "a quanto si narra" (i.e., as the story goes).

(79) Ch. 27, ll. 9-10, p. 38 : τὸ δημῶδες καὶ κοινόν. Cfr. RONCHEY, n. 87, p. 349.

(80) For example, at ch. 16, discussed below.

(81) Cfr. ch. 35 : Basil's chest was "the mean between two extremes, and the rest of his body was in harmony with it" (Engl. transl., p. 48). Such Aristotelian beauty is to be found, indeed, in Aristotle's *Physiognomica* (807b), as Ronchey reveals at n. 114, p. 352.

sessionian makes much of Basil's reputed "character change", a transformation, she says,

mentioned by all historians, particularly by Psellos (82).

She unquestioningly accepts Bury's conclusions that this change took place at the conclusion of the first civil war, that ended with Bardas Sclerus' exile, so that, as he states,

The first overt act which manifested the inward change in Basil's character was the deposition and banishment of the eunuch Basileios (83).

Having restored to this event the accepted historical date of 985, and interpreting the change in the sense of a religious conversion, she goes on to draw her main conclusions about the dating of Basil's *Mnologium* :

Might it not be supposed that in 985, in order to show that he had "left the shores of luxury with full sail" Basil ordered this handsome volume of the lives of saints, a fitting memorial of his new devotion "to the serious things of life" ?

However appealing this suggestion may sound, it undoubtedly finds no support in Psellos' account.

Firstly, the context in which Psellos describes the particular "character change" to which both Bury and Der Nersessian refer, suggests, if anything, a different dating. Here is the full passage :

The change in his mode of living dates from the attempted revolutions of the notorious Sclerus and of Phokas. Sclerus twice raised the standard of revolt, and there were other aspirants to the throne, with two parties in opposition to the emperor. From that time onward, Basil's carefree existence was forgotten, and he wholeheartedly applied himself to serious objects. Once the first blow had been struck against those members of his family who had seized power, he set himself resolutely to compass their utter destruction (84).

(82) DER NERSESSIAN, *Remarks*, p. 112.

(83) BURY, *Roman Emperors*, p. 137. Der Nersessian takes her quotes of Psellos directly from Bury, though at a later stage gives a reference to Renauld's edition (n. 42, p. 114).

(84) Ch. 4, ll. 13-20, p. 12 ; Engl. transl., pp. 29-30. Again, it must not be forgotten that Psellos specified in this chapter his reliance on other sources : "if I am to believe the historians of that period who wrote about him", p. 29.

It appears, therefore, that Basil “changed” as a result of the combined effect of all the civil wars waged against him. Even if we allow the possibility of Psellos’ having muddled the story in his attempt at an overall resumé in this passage, and see in this “first blow (...) struck against those members of his family who had seized power” a reference to the episode of the eunuch Basil⁽⁸⁵⁾, another passage introduces further uncertainties :

The complete change in the emperor’s character dates from that time. While he rejoiced at the death of his enemy [Bardas Phokas, slain at the battle of Abydos in 989], he was no less grieved by the sad condition of his own affairs. He became suspicious of everyone, a haughty and secretive man, ill-tempered, and irate with those who failed to carry out his orders⁽⁸⁶⁾.

This passage clearly suggests a dating to 989. Psellos is only able to present the exile of the eunuch as a consequence of this bad temper by postponing the event, thus falsifying the chain of causality. In fact, Zonaras follows Psellos and

places his description of the change in Basil II and the fall of the eunuch after the revolt of Phokas (...); but by his mode of expression, “he *had* become haughty” [i.e. by the use of the pluperfect tense], he leaves it undetermined at what time the change took place⁽⁸⁷⁾.

Der Nersessian accepts the change

whatever the date may have been...⁽⁸⁸⁾.

2. *Nature of the “change”*

But what did this change consist in? The bad mood described as the true “complete change” in ch. 18 hardly shows signs of a spiritually uplifted being. Nor does what Bury colourfully translated as “leaving the shores of luxury with full sail” towards the “serious things of life” express, in the Greek, anything more than the emperor’s zealous

(85) Psellos’ vagueness leaves some uncertainty. Sewter interpreted the final reference as directed to the ongoing strife against the Phokas family, who attempted to gain power even as late as 1022.

(86) Ch. 18, ll. 1-5, p. 28 : *Ἐντεῦθεν ἕτερος ἀνθ’ ἐτέρου ὁ βασιλεὺς γίνεται*, Engl. transl., p. 37.

(87) BURY, *Roman Emperors*, p. 138.

(88) BURY, *Roman Emperors*, p. 138.

undertaking of duty, his business of governing the state ⁽⁸⁹⁾. No fanciful dedication to a religious lifestyle is here implied.

I would argue that Psellos' repeated references ⁽⁹⁰⁾ to Basil's character change at best point to a gradual progress in Basil's personality and are not, in themselves, indicative of a religious conversion. The essential pointers to Basil's religious attitude are to be found elsewhere.

From the outset, Psellos presents Basil in contrast to his brother Constantine :

Basil, the elder of the two, always gave the impression of alertness, intelligence and thoughtfulness ; Constantine appeared to be apathetic, lazy, and devoted to a life of luxury ⁽⁹¹⁾.

Thus, it comes somewhat as a surprise to hear, at ch. 4, that Basil too

used to feast quite openly, and frequently indulged in the pleasures of love ; his main concern was with his banqueting and a life spent in the gay, indolent atmosphere of the court ⁽⁹²⁾.

Basil's change is described as a turning from this life of luxury, that had seemed characteristic of his brother at first, to regain, as it were, his proper self :

... he became a man of great energy. ... Feebleness gave way to strength and the old slackness disappeared before a new fixity of purpose ⁽⁹³⁾.

Psellos, in the same passage, both specifies that the change took place "after he acceded to the throne" and also as a result of "the pressure of events" which he proceeds to explain, as we quoted before, with the civil wars. To this already double motivation, he adds the effect of Basil's decision to exile the eunuch : Basil's choice of austerity is even greater once the power is concentrated in his hands. In the same chapter, Psellos reveals that this austerity is dictated to Basil by the

(89) Ch. 4, ll. 17-18, p. 12 : *ὄλω πνεύματι ἀντείχετο τῆς σπουδῆς*. Cfr. Renault's translation : "de toute son âme il s'attacha aux choses sérieuses" and his literal rendition at n. 4, p. 4 : "à l'effort sérieux".

(90) Ch. 4 ; 18 ; 22 ; 34 : all these chapters are 'appendices' to the main structure of the narrative, and it may be wondered whether the necessity to provide a psychological commentary led Psellos to harken back to the change-theme.

(91) Ch. 2, ll. 2-6, p. 8 ; Engl. transl., p. 27.

(92) Ch. 4, ll. 10-13, p. 12 ; Engl. transl., p. 29.

(93) Ch. 4, ll. 6-10, p. 12 ; Engl. transl., p. 29.

necessity to compete with his brother Constantine. In ensuring Constantine's enslavement to a life of luxury, Basil is eliminating another adversary to the throne (94).

The ring-composition of Basil's "changes" starting and finishing on a comparison between the two brothers, underpins what appears to be the emperor's normal evolution from youth to maturity, in consonance with the promises of his initial temperament, under the ever-increasing weight of responsibility in the government of the Empire.

It would be wrong to envisage Basil's sternness as an immutable attitude. Just as his alleged cruelty to the eunuch Basil was mitigated by Basil's deep consideration before taking a decision, so was his harsh temper mitigated, as shown in a revealing vignette :

The careful inspections he made before battle used to aggravate the soldiers and they abused him openly, but the Emperor met their scorn with common sense. He would listen quietly, and then with a gay smile point out that if he neglected these precautions, their battles would go on forever (95).

As we have seen several times, Psellos' account is multi-faceted, and what would appear an absolute statement is corrected, or even contradicted, by later evidence. So, in the case of Basil's presumed change, few elements remain. Indeed, the only affirmation that is left intact is the commonplace one that

Basil's character was two-fold (96),

as he possessed the quality of adapting himself to the situation, whether it be of peace or of war.

3. *Religious conversion*

The religious facet in Basil's evolution does not need to be gleaned from psychological analyses. Rather, it can be drawn out of concrete details.

Basil's renunciation of *regalia* may be intended as an external sign of differentiation from Constantine, of thrift, or of the rudeness of someone used to military attire. But Basil's personal renunciation of

(94) Ch. 22.

(95) Ch. 33, ll. 21-25, p. 48 ; Engl. transl., p. 47.

(96) Ch. 34, l. 1, p. 48 : *Ἀπεμέριζε δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἦθος* ; Engl. transl., p. 47.

commodities, particularly in connexion with his military campaigns, is clearly expressed in terms of an ascetic choice :

'Απεκαρτέρει δὲ καὶ πρὸς ψῦχος ἀκμάζον καὶ πρὸς ἀκμὴν θέρους, καὶ διψῶν οὐκ εὐθὺς ταῖς πηγαῖς προσήει, ἀλλ' ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φύσεως στερρός τε καὶ ἀδαμάντινος (97).

The impression that a particularly christian form of ascetism is being described is strengthened by the use of the verb *ἀποκαρτερέω*, meaning, “to persevere in abstaining, to starve oneself” (98), and also by the frequent application of the metaphor of the diamond (*ἄδαμας*) for hardness or strength of soul, with reference to Christ, St. Paul, or Job (99).

But the clearest instance of the combination of Basil's faith with his military action is in the episode of the battle of Abydos, where Basil and his army confront the usurper Bardas Phokas (ch. 16). In ch. 15, Bardas' preparations were upset by ill-omens : twice he slipped from his saddle, and the responses from the augurs as to the result of the battle were negative. Bardas is said to abandon himself to fortune (*τύχη*) : he does not heed the presages, and engages battle. Although his defeat will come about precisely through a renewed fall from his horse, Psellos will not openly state that the omens were thus fulfilled (100).

Psellos sets up a contrast between Bardas and Basil : the first storms through the battlefield “like a cloud driven by violent winds” while the emperor stands unmoving, majestic, in front of his army,

clasping the image of the Saviour's mother, thinking this icon the surest protection against his opponent's terrific onslaught (101).

(97) Ch. 32, l. 5-8, p. 46 ; Engl. transl., p. 46 : “He endured the rigours of winter and the heat of summer with equal indifference. He disciplined himself against thirst. In fact, all his natural desires were kept under stern control, and the man was as hard as steel”.

(98) Cfr. PALL., *h. Laus.*, ch. 69, said of an ascetic nun.

(99) By Chrysostom *et alii*.

(100) Cfr. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, J., *Psellos et le monde de l'irrationnel*, in *TM*, 6 (1976), pp. 325-349, p. 333 : “Dans tous les exemples que donne Psellos de ces genres de divination, on constate que les intéressés se sont mal trouvés de ne pas avoir tenu compte des présages. C'était probablement là l'opinion courante”. The author examines precisely this passage.

(101) Ch. 16, ll. 3-5, p. 26 : *θατέρα δὲ τῶν χειρῶν τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ Λόγου μητροῦς διηγκάλιστο, καρτερώτατον πρόβλημα τῆς ἀκαθέκτου ἐκείνου ὀρμῆς ταύτην ποιούμενος*. Engl. transl., p. 36.

Psellos gives different reasons for Bardas' ruinous fall : he ironically dismisses Constantine's claim to have slain Bardas by his own hand ⁽¹⁰²⁾ ; he then tells us the prevailing version (*ὡς δὲ πολὺς κεκράτηκε λόγος*) ⁽¹⁰³⁾, which was that the fall was due to a sudden illness caused by a poisoned drink :

The original idea was Basil's, the ministering hand that of Phokas' cupbearer. ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

This clear-cut rational explanation undercuts what Psellos hastens to add as his own interpretation :

For my own part, I prefer to express no opinion [i.e. not to choose between any of these enumerated versions] and ascribe all the glory to the Mother of the Word ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.

Ronchey rightly remarks that the victory attributed to the Virgin is the "official version" to which Psellos aligns himself ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. His narrative had opened the way for supernatural intervention through the ominous forebodings of Phokas' ill-end. The miraculous intervention of the Virgin through her icon is in turn undercut by a possibility of rational explanation of the event.

In this episode, Basil was casting himself as a devotee of the Virgin aided by her in battle. In his pilgrimages to the tombs of the warrior-martyrs, St. George, St. Theodore Stratelates and St. Theodore Tyron, reported in the *Life* of St. Photius of Thessalonika ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾, Basil was likewise beseeching their protection in battle ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. It was on his way to his second Bulgarian campaign, in the 990s, that he visited Thessalonika, met Photius, and chose him as his spiritual guide. The saint accompanied Basil on all his campaigns henceforth ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾.

(102) This version lends support to the hypothesis that Basil had in his brother a real threat to his own power.

(103) Ch. 16, l. 18-19, p. 26.

(104) Ch. 16, ll. 22-24 ; Engl. transl., p. 37.

(105) Ch. 16, ll. 24-25 : *ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ἀδήλοις τίθημι, τῇ δὲ μητρὶ τοῦ Λόγου τὸ πᾶν ἀνατίθημι* ; Engl. transl., p. 37.

(106) RONCHEY, n. 61, p. 347 : "Era questa, indubbiamente, la versione ufficiale dell'evento".

(107) HALKIN, F., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols., Bruxelles, 1957, p. 1545.

(108) SCHLUMBERGER, G., *L'épopée*, II, pp. 47-50.

(109) A later parallel of this phenomenon can be found in the *Life* of St. Cyril Phileotes, where a monk accompanies and miraculously heals Alexius I Comnenus

The poem inscribed in the front page of the Venice Psalter presents Basil in precisely the terms of his own religious-military ideology :

A strange marvel this, for those who see it.
 Christ is holding out in his life-giving right hand
 the crown, symbol of power, from the Heavens
 to the faithful and mighty ruler Basil.
 Below [Christ] are two of the highest incorporeal beings,
 one of them having received [it], offered [it] and, rejoicing, crowns ;
 the other, fastening upon power ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ victories also,
 offering a sword, a weapon to frighten the enemies,
 places [it] in the hand of the ruler.
 The martyrs fight as his allies, as for a friend,
 smiting those who are lying at his feet. ⁽¹¹¹⁾

CONCLUSION

Although Psellos' account is at first misleading, a thorough analysis and re-evaluation of it allowed us to form a fuller picture of the Emperor Basil, and of the ideological choices he impressed upon his reign.

Basil II was the only Byzantine emperor never to marry ⁽¹¹²⁾. If his renunciation of offspring may be added to his ascetic practices, the necessities of war being taken into consideration, Basil did not by far miss the mark of embodying his own programmatic ideal.

In his personal and, by extension, imperial cultural choices, Basil was a fitting representative of his time. At the turn of the millennium, Basil, on the one hand, drew upon the Encyclopaedic form of knowledge of his predecessors, bringing the artistic achievement of the Macedonian Renaissance to a climax by the creation of his illuminated manuscripts ; on the other hand, Basil both foreshadowed and gave

from a wound. The presence of monks and the power of their prayer was considered an important aid in the success of military campaigns and a guarantee of the emperor's well-being. Cfr. SARGOLOGOS, E., ed., *La vie de S. Cyrille le Philéote par Nicholas Katasképonos*, in *Subs Hag.*, 39 Paris, 1964.

(110) Cfr. SHEVCHENKO, I., *The illuminators*, p. 272. Shevchenko clarifies : "<the symbol of> power", i.e., the crown.

(111) Greek text in SHEVCHENKO, I., *The illuminators*, p. 272 at n. 92. My translation.

(112) This aspect of Basil's life has already deserved a study : ARBAGI, M., *The Celibacy of Basil II*, in *Byzantine Studies - Études Byzantines*, 2 (1975), pp. 41-45.

an impetus to the greater spirituality that is the characteristic feature of the eleventh century (113).

The *Chronicle of Yahya* tells us that it was Basil's last wish not to be buried in the Imperial mausoleum of the Holy Apostles. Indeed, his epitaph confirms that he was buried in the church of St. John the Evangelist which he had endowed (114), where he could "rest with the pilgrims" (115).

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(113) Rosemary Morris characterizes this century as "the heyday of holy mountains and charismatic monastic founders" in her article, *The Byzantine Aristocracy and the monasteries*, in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX-XIII Centuries*, ANGOLD, M., ed., Oxford, 1984, pp. 112-129, at p. 113.

(114) GRIERSON, P., *Tombs and Obits of Byzantine Emperors*, in *DOP*, 16 (1962), p. 58.

(115) JANIN, *Les églises*, p. 268.

LES PEINTURES DU REZ-DE-CHAUSSÉE DE L'ÉGLISE DE LAGAMI (HAUTE SVANÉTHIE)

Lagami, un village près de la ville de Mestia en Haute Svanéthie, fut autrefois le centre religieux et culturel de la Svanéthie ; peut-être, aussi celui de l'évêché (1). Ce centre commença son activité aux IX^e-X^e s., comme en témoignent les monuments de l'art ancien géorgien conservés dans les maisons des habitants et dans les églises de la commune de Sėti, dont Lagami fait partie : une ripide fondue du IX^e s. et une icône ciselée de Saint Georges de la première moitié du XI^e s., munie de l'inscription en géorgien «Georges de Sėti», répétant sans doute une image sainte plus ancienne vénérée dans le pays (2).

La petite basilique à Lagami consacrée au Sauveur est à nef unique, à un étage, simple en forme et en décor (fig. 1). Le côté est du bâtiment n'a pas de ressaut absidial. Son étage est décoré de pierres équarries, les fenêtres du côté est et sud de l'étage sont encadrées dans de larges bordures sculptées de forme arrondie, les murs et les frontons sont dotés de larges corniches en pierre avec cannelure. Le profil de trois degrés sépare les murs de l'étage de ceux du rez-de-chaussée, où affleure la maçonnerie en grandes pierres brutes. Une étroite fenêtre du mur est n'a pas d'encadrement sculpté. L'architecture de l'église n'est pas datée exactement (3), mais elle est typique, à l'exception de la présence

(1) P. S. OUVAROVA, *Poiezdka v Pchaviiou, Khevsouretiiou i Svanetiiou. Materialy po istorii Kavkaza, Vypusk X*, Moskva, 1904, p. 76 (en russe).

(2) G. TCHOUBINACHVILI, *Grouzinskoie tchékannoie iskousstvo s VIII po XVIII vv.*, Tbilissi, 1957, tabl. 25, 96, p.16, 18 (en russe).

(3) G. D. TCHÉÏCHVILI et M. N. BOUTCHOUGOURI, *Nekotorye osobennosti pamiatnikov srednevekovoï rospisi v verkhnei Svanetii. Rospis interiera (IV Mezhdunarodnyi simposium po gruzinskou iskousstvu)*. Tbilissi, 1977, p. 7, datent l'église de Lagami des IX^e-X^e s. Pour une caractéristique brève de l'architecture ancienne svane cf. R. S. MÉPISSACHVILI ; *K voprossou o kharakteristike arkhitektournykh pamiatnikov Verkhnei Svanetii (III naoutchnaia sessiia Institouta grousinskogo iskousstva. 14-15 maia 1948)*, Tezissy (en russe).

de l'étage, des églises anciennes svanes. Les basiliques du ^x^e s. à Supi (commune de Pàri) et à Nakipari (commune d'Ipari) (4) représentent un type pareil. La décoration de leurs murs de pierres équarries et de corniches, l'ornement des fenêtres sont pareils. Mais la présence de l'étage dans l'église de Lagami est un phénomène exceptionnel dans l'architecture de la Svanéthie.

La maçonnerie brute de l'église d'en bas, sans revêtement, témoigne que le rôle du rez-de-chaussée n'était pas si important que celui de l'étage. Mais l'intérieur du rez-de-chaussée se divise aussi en un petit narthex et une nef recouverts d'une voûte unique à plein cintre. La nef aboutit à une abside avec une large demi-sphère de la conque. Sans aucun doute c'était une église avec son propre autel, affectée peut-être aux services funéraires.

Les parois et les voûtes des deux églises, de celles d'en haut et d'en bas, sont couverts de fresques ; à l'extérieur, la partie supérieure du mur sud et partiellement la corniche du mur est sont aussi peintes. Les fresques de l'église d'en haut, celles de l'extérieur et de l'intérieur, sont conservées suffisamment et représentent le type de la peinture svane du ^{xv}^e s.

Les peintures du rez-de-chaussée de l'église d'en bas ne nous sont parvenues qu'en fragments, leurs parties conservées appartiennent à des époques différentes. Les fresques ont été consolidées et partiellement découvertes dans les années 1970 par les restaurateurs géorgiens Gouram Tchéichvili et Mikhaïl Boutchougouri. Leurs travaux ont permis de faire la conclusion définitive sur l'existence sur les parois de la nef, dans l'abside et sur la superficie de la voûte d'en bas de deux couches de peinture, dont chacune repose sur sa propre couche d'apprêt. Ces dernières diffèrent par leur matériel et leur épaisseur et se rapportent à des époques différentes (5). La première couche, plus antique, mince et élastique est découverte, avec sa peinture, dans la partie inférieure des murs nord et ouest, on en voit aussi des fragments sur le mur nord de l'abside et sur la partie nord de la voûte. Mais sur la plus grande partie de la voûte, dans la lunette du mur ouest, dans l'abside et dans la conque cette couche est recouverte d'une autre, cette fois plus épaisse et plus solide, couche d'enduit, cette dernière aussi portant des fresques.

(4) OUVAROVA, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

(5) TCHÉICHVILI et BOUTCHOUGOURI, p. 7.

La peinture de la couche supérieure est en mauvais état de conservation, presque effacée, mais on peut néanmoins reconnaître un Déisis en mi-figures dans la conque, l'ornement de grandes feuilles dans l'ébrasement de la fenêtre de l'abside, la Nativité du Christ dans la lunette du mur ouest, l'Annonciation sur la pente sud de la voûte et la Crucifixion sur sa partie nord. La composition laconique très caractéristique des scènes des Fêtes, aussi bien que les grandes figures de Déisis dans l'autel et l'ornement de feuilles dans l'ébrasement de la fenêtre nous permettent de classer la peinture de la seconde couche parmi les décorations murales répandues dans les églises svanes du XII^e et du XIII^e s. Ces dernières remontent aux décorations de Tevdore, peintre du roi, qui peignit à la fin du XI^e s. et le début du XII^e s. quelques églises svanes : Saints-Archanges à Iprari en 1096, Saints-Cyriaque-et-Iulita à Lagourka en 1111, et Saint-Georges à Nakipari en 1136 (6). Les restaurateurs des peintures de Lagami G. Tchéïchvili et M. Boutchougouri ont daté les fresques de la couche supérieure du XII^e s. (7).

La peinture de la première couche, plus antique, sur les murs de l'église inférieure de Lagami s'est conservée mieux. Ses fragments donnent l'idée de sa composition générale.

Sur les murs ouest et nord de l'église d'en bas, dans leur zone inférieure, sont représentés de front les Saints guerriers Georges (fig. 2), Théodore (fig. 3), Artème (fig. 4) et Sainte Barbe la martyre (fig. 5). L'image est d'un fond blanc, la raie d'encadrement qui passe au-dessus des personnages a sur son fond noir un ornement géométrique «en accordéon» composé de parallélogrammes de différentes teintes du gris. Dépassant sur l'encadrement au-dessus de la tête de Sainte Barbe, un pied paré d'un bracelet représente un fragment d'une image non conservée du registre supérieur (fig. 6). Toutes les figures sont flanquées d'inscriptions en grands caractères noirs du type «assomtavruli». À droite de la figure de sainte Barbe une inscription pareille — en grands caractères noirs — est accompagnée d'une autre de l'écriture plus ancienne qui se trouve un peu plus haut. Ses caractères sont plus fins et peints dans les tons gris.

Sur la partie sud du mur ouest se trouve l'image d'un petit modèle d'une église de forme cubique avec un toit à deux pentes un peu

(6) Sh. Y. AMIRANACHVILI. *Istoria gruzinskogo iskousstva*, Moskva, 1963, pp. 214-216, tabl. 70-78.

(7) TCHÉÏCHVILI et BOUTCHOUGOURI, p. 8.

concaves (fig. 7). Ce serait l'image de l'église de Lagami et primitivement le modèle se trouverait aux mains d'un donateur dont la représentation ne s'est pas conservée. Au-dessus du modèle on voit une raie d'encadrement «en accordéon».

Des fragments de la peinture primitive peuvent être trouvés dans l'abside dans les endroits où la couche postérieure est tombée : sur le mur nord au-dessous de la conque on voit, en guise de raie d'encadrement, un ornement en damier blanc et bleu, et sur le mur sud de la conque — d'étroites raies sur un fond blanc : brune, bleue, rose, encore une fois bleue et enfin rouge foncé.

À ce qu'il paraît, la peinture de la première couche couvrait tous les murs, l'abside et, peut être, les voûtes de l'église, puisque aujourd'hui l'épaisseur de l'apprêt sur les voûtes est la même que dans l'abside, ce qui permet de supposer deux couches d'enduit sur les voûtes. Les images étaient disposées sur les murs de l'église en deux registres séparés par une large raie ornementale. Le registre du dessus aura contenu des scènes à sujet, et celui du dessous, des représentations de Saints debout, et le mur ouest près de l'entrée porterait l'image d'un donateur avec un modèle de l'église en ses mains.

Les Saints guerriers sont représentés des lances aux mains, en armures lamellées, d'un dessin simple, en tuniques à longues manches liserées aux poignets d'une bande ocre avec une rangée de perles. Sainte Barbe est représentée les mains levées devant la poitrine, sa robe est ornée de perles au collet ; sa tête est moulée d'un filet blanc surmonté d'un diadème mince garni de pierres précieuses. Les vêtements des Saints sont de couleur bleu clair, rose, ocre. Les nimbes sont grands et colorés (bleu clair ou ocres), aux contours multicolores.

Les figures espacées des Saints ont des proportions et des tracés naturels des têtes. Les faces sont représentées de front, l'arête du nez apparaît comme une large superficie ombrée de raies régulières des deux côtés. Le front n'est pas haut, la bouche est petite, le menton est menu et délicat. Les yeux ont des dimensions exagérées, leur regard possède une intensité et une force qui sont atteintes par un procédé caractéristique : les paupières sont tracées très nettement, celle du dessous est abaissée, découvrant le blanc de l'oeil, le globe est soulevé et étendu en horizontale, la prunelle est marquée très nettement.

Les faces sont modelées de touches roses posées très à l'étroit, les pommettes et le menton sont marqués de taches de vermillon ovales unies. Les ombres de teinte chaude sont marquées avec des raies

régulières contournant la face et les côtés du nez. Ils se trouvent, en forme d'ovales, sous les yeux et au-dessus de la lèvre supérieure. Une large ligne noire contourne le visage et ses traits. Elle est cambrée et élastique, son expressivité consiste à révéler l'indépendance de quelques volumes particuliers du nez, du front, des lèvres. En somme, apparaît une forme statique qui ressemble à un masque, concentrée par l'énergie du regard intense.

Les volumes des figures sont marqués énergiquement et dynamiquement. Les crêtes des plis sont représentées par des lignes blanches, courtes et impulsives, parallèles ou rayonnantes. Les ombres ont le même dessin schématique et impulsif, elles correspondent aux rehauts en répétant exactement leurs configurations.

Sur les murs de l'église de Lagami sont créées les images expressivement plastiques et intensivement spiritualisées. Les volumes des visages et des figures se forment par l'opposition schématisée des surfaces éclairées et ombrées, quoiqu'en même temps la ligne possède une liberté relative. Dans le système de cette peinture, on voit des relations dynamiques entre le canon déjà consolidé et le sens primesautier de la forme pas encore éteint. Ces fresques sont à l'écart des autres monuments de l'art géorgien, presque toujours conventionnels quant à leur forme. Il n'y aura pas beaucoup d'analogies à la peinture de Lagami dans l'art byzantin non plus. Cette décoration unique n'a pas eu d'interprétation convenable dans les publications scientifiques. G. Tchéichvili et M. Boutchougouri la datent du ^x^e s. (hélas, sans aucune argumentation) et l'attribuent à un artiste non lié à la tradition locale.

L'objet de ce travail consiste dans l'étude de la peinture de la première couche dans l'église inférieure de Lagami, dans la recherche des analogies stylistiques et la détermination de l'époque où elle fut créée.

Les visages aux yeux énormes et les têtes à silhouette naturelle dans la décoration lagamienne remontent par leur type à l'époque première byzantine, dont un exemple est la célèbre icône du ^{vi}^e s. du Sinaï «La Vierge trônant entourée de Saints» avec des images caractéristiques de S. Georges et S. Théodore⁽⁸⁾. On peut aussi reconnaître comme qualité commune l'opposition de l'expression statuaire des faces et du regard extatiquement intense.

(8) K. WEITZMANN, M. CHADZIDAKIS, K. MIJATEV et S. RADOICIC, *Icons on the Balkans*, Washington-London, 1967, tabl. 1.

Cette typologie commune nous mène à chercher des analogies à la peinture de Lagami parmi les monuments de l'époque du recours à la tradition ancienne byzantine pendant la restauration du style byzantin, qui suivit la crise iconoclaste. Nous lui trouvons des analogies dans les miniatures de fin IX^e s. - début X^e s. : les illustrations de l'Évangile de l'*Ermitage* de S. André à l'Athos (cod. 5), actuellement à la bibliothèque de l'Université de Princeton (Garret. 6) (9), et dans le «Commentaire d'Olympiodore pour le Livre de Job» du 905 (*Marciana gr.* 538) (10). Les miniatures des deux codex conservent le type des faces du premier art byzantin : leur partie inférieure est mince et menue, le regard des yeux énormes est extatiquement intense, les fronts sont bas et la silhouette des têtes est naturelle (fig. 8) — tout cela a déjà été constaté dans la typologie des faces à Lagami. Il y a aussi beaucoup de commun dans les procédés de la création de la forme dans les miniatures citées ci-dessus et dans la peinture lagamienne, ce sont notamment l'effet de la face-masque où le front et l'arête nasale forment un plan unique. Quant au traitement des figures, on peut noter dans les miniatures et dans la fresque la corrélation des grandes superficies éclairées et des ombres géométrisées, aussi bien qu'un procédé conventionnel qui consiste à peindre les lumières par des traits obliques blancs et les ombres par des traits pareils de couleur foncée. Dans les miniatures, aussi bien que dans les fresques de Lagami, la large ligne noire qui marque l'indépendance des volumes exprime un sens toujours spontané de la forme.

Selon K. Weitzmann, ces manuscrits se rapportent au groupe cappadocien, pourtant il constate des difficultés de l'attribution de ce groupe et admet que quelques-uns de ces manuscrits furent confectionnés dans des centres occidentaux d'Asie Mineure (11).

Les fresques de Lagami ont peu d'analogies stylistiques proches parmi les peintures cappadociennes, la plupart de ces dernières étant plus conventionnelles, plus graphiques et possédant un langage artistique plus spontané. Pourtant il existe quelques correspondances en iconographie et en composition avec les monuments «du style archaïque»

(9) Je pense à «S. Luc», cf. K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 56 et 57, abb. 374-378.

(10) Les miniatures des fol. 26 et 27 représentant les amis de Job et les enfants de Job sont particulièrement proches des fresques de Lagami (cf. K. WEITZMANN, Taf. LVIII ; 345 et 349).

(11) WEITZMANN, pp. 49 et 55.

de la période allant du milieu du IX^e s. jusqu'au milieu du X^e s., désignés ainsi par J. Jerphanion, qui y a révélé le recours aux modèles anciens byzantins (12). Dans l'ancienne église de Tokalí, à Göreme, dans la zone inférieure des fresques qui datent de 913-920 se trouve une frise composée de représentations en pleine taille des martyrs et d'un guerrier (13), analogue à celui de Lagami par la sélection des personnages. De larges raies d'encadrement à un ornement géométrique séparent la rangée inférieure des compositions du dessus, où les figures sont placées très à l'étroit, de manière que les pieds des personnages dépassent sur l'encadrement orné (14), comme nous l'avons constaté dans un fragment à Lagami (au-dessus de la tête de Ste Barbe). En général, cette solution de composition des peintures monumentales se répète en Cappadoce, dans les basiliques à voûte en berceau, pendant tout le X^e s. Les fresques de Lagami sont conformes aux traits de ce système de composition.

Le programme iconographique des fresques de Lagami était peut-être proche de celui des peintures de l'ancienne église de Tokalí, comme de ceux des autres monuments de ce groupe : les représentations du cycle christologique narratif sur les voûtes et dans le registre supérieur des murs, les images des martyrs et des Saints Guerriers dans le registre inférieur. Ajoutons que le culte de S. Georges le Martyr, comme celui de Théodore Tyron et de Ste Barbe, était très répandu, encore avant l'époque iconoclaste, en Asie Mineure, d'où il vint en Géorgie (15). Les représentations des donateurs sont aussi connues dans les décors des églises de Cappadoce du IX^e-X^e s. dans diverses parties du temple (16).

Pourtant le style des peintures dans l'ancienne église de Tokalí est plus provincial par son caractère que celui des fresques de Lagami :

(12) G. DE JERPHANION, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1925-1942, I, pp. 66-94.

(13) N. THIERRY, *Le chiese rupestri (Arte della Cappadocia)*, Roma-Chicago, 1971, p. 151 ; ID., *Un atelier de peinture du début du X^e s. en Cappadoce : l'atelier de l'ancienne église de Tokali*, dans N. THIERRY, *Peintures d'Asie Mineure et de Transcaucasie aux X^e et XI^e s.*, London, 1977, IV ; A. W. EPSTEIN, *Tokali Kilise. Tenth-century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia*, Washington, 1986, pp. 17-22 et 60-61.

(14) M. RESTLE, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, Recklinghausen, 1967, t. II, ill. 63, 76, 83.

(15) *Lexicon der christlichen Iconographie*, Roma-Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 6 (1976), p. 370 ; 8 (1978), p. 447 ; N. AURENHAMMER, *Lexicon der christlichen Iconographie*, Wien, 1962, p. 282.

(16) C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *Les églises de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords*, Paris, 1991, pp. 72, 91, 111, 175, 202, 265.

les figures y sont plus engoncées, leurs proportions ne sont pas ajustées, le dessin est simplifié. Les fresques n'y produisent pas l'impression de la forme nettement modelée. Néanmoins il existe une ressemblance entre les deux ensembles : les types des faces aux grands yeux et à une bouche trop petite, leurs contours bien marqués, le modelage par des couleurs éclatantes, le vermillon des pommettes rondes et le vert des ombres (fig. 9). L'ornement composé de parallélogrammes «en accordéon», pareil à celui qui occupe la raie d'encadrement à Lagami, peut être vu dans une autre église de Göreme — dans la chapelle n° 6 qui date de 930-940 (17). L'investigatrice de la peinture d'Asie Mineure N. Thierry attribue le décor de l'ancienne église de Tokalı à un atelier local lié à l'art de Césarée, capitale de province et la plus grande ville d'Anatolie centrale (18).

Les fresques de Kılıçlar Kilise du début du x^e s. (19), qui manifestent un style apparenté à celui de l'art de la métropole, sont plus proches de celles de Lagami par certain effet plastique et leur coloris harmonieux, formé par le bleu clair, le rose et l'ocre (fig. 10). Cependant là aussi la forme n'atteint pas cette netteté de modelage qu'on trouve à Lagami. À ce qu'il paraît, le style de Lagami, plus qu'à une variante de la peinture régionale cappadocienne, est lié au style très répandu de l'art byzantin de la période couvrant la fin du ix^e et la première moitié du x^e s., qui s'adressa à l'héritage du premier art byzantin.

Certaines images des mosaïques de la cathédrale Ste-Sophie à Salonique du dernier quart du ix^e s., par exemple celle de la Vierge, dans l'abside (20), peuvent être comparées avec les images de Lagami par le type des faces et par les procédés schématisés du modelage de la forme. Les mosaïques de Salonique ont aussi beaucoup de correspondances avec les décors cappadociens des années 913-920 (21).

(17) M. RESTLE, t. II, ill. 57. L'ornement pareil est commun pour le décor des églises de Cappadoce : Derin dere kilise, St-Georges à Zindanönu, St-Siméon à Zelve (voy. C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, p. 191, pl. 117 ; p. 60, pl. 45, fig. 1 ; p. 12, pl. 19.).

(18) N. THIERRY, 1977, lie avec cet atelier les décors de Güllü dere (913-920) et de l'église des Sts-Apôtres à Sinassos de la même époque.

(19) A. W. EPSTEIN, p. 22 et pp. 47-48, date les fresques de Kılıçlar Kilise en se basant sur leur style. C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, p. 141, propose, en se basant sur l'iconographie, la même date.

(20) V. N. LAZAREV, *Istoria vizantiiskogo iskousstva*, Moskva, 1983, tabl. 84.

(21) N. THIERRY, *À propos de l'Ascension d'Ayvali kilise et de celle de Sainte-Sophie de Salonique*, dans *CA*, 24 (1975), p. 145-154.

L'important est que parmi les analogies citées, les plus proches ne dépassent pas la période allant de la fin du ix^e s. jusqu'au premier quart du x^e s. C'est de cette époque-là que nous datons les peintures du rez-de-chaussée de l'église de Lagami. Si l'on considère le détachement territorial de notre monument des grands centres d'art, il est préférable de le dater de la première moitié du x^e s. (22).

Les particularités des fresques de Lagami ne permettent pas qu'on les place au-delà du milieu du x^e s., qui est le moment critique pour le style de Byzance post-iconoclaste. Cela a été démontré sur l'exemple de la peinture monumentale cappadocienne encore par Jerphanion (23), qui a été soutenu par les investigateurs modernes, quoique chacun d'eux ait ses propres argumentations. C'est un nouveau système de la peinture qui se forme à partir du milieu du x^e s., plus conventionnel, pourtant s'assimilant, selon Weitzmann, quelques normes antiques (24). Dans le cadre de ce nouveau système se crée une image idéale, un peu spéculative, comprenant l'harmonie complète de l'esprit et de la chair (25). La silhouette des têtes à sinciput haut devient caractéristique, ce qui est lié à un nouveau modelage du volume de la tête, au développement de ce volume sur la superficie, à la représentation de la face et du sinciput en même temps. Les traits du visage reçoivent des proportions plus naturelles. Leurs volumes perdent leur relief accentué, qui est caractéristique pour la période précédente, et se subordonnent à la forme sommaire, un peu conventionnelle, de la face. Les traits des visages sont contournés de lignes en arc régulier ou en forme de parabole qui semblent passer d'un volume à autre. Mais si on les compare avec le dessin de la période précédente, on verra qu'elles sont plus généralisées et élastiques, qu'elles ne donnent plus l'effet de la création

(22) Les résultats de l'investigation paléographique des inscriptions de la première couche de la peinture de Lagami qui pourraient préciser la date, sont jusqu'à présent préliminaires. L'investigateur arménien de la paléographie géorgienne P. M. Mouradian a supposé, après avoir étudié la photographie des grandes inscriptions noires, qu'elles datent du xiii^e s. Mais il n'a pas étudié les autres inscriptions, plus petites et presque effacées. À notre avis, ces caractères dépérissants sont plus archaïque et ressemblent par la simplicité de leur dessin aux plus anciens monuments de l'écriture géorgienne. Il faut tenir compte qu'au x^e s. se réalisèrent de grands changements dans la manière d'écrire les caractères.

(23) G. DE JERPHANION, I, pp. 66-94.

(24) K. WEITZMANN, p. 68.

(25) A. GRABAR, *La représentation de l'intelligible dans l'art byzantin du Moyen Âge* (*L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, V.I (1968), pp. 61-62.

énergique de la forme. L'organisation extrêmement stricte de tous les éléments de la peinture, leur subordination à un objectif commun — à la création d'une forme idéale, distinguent ce nouveau système d'image du style un peu archaïsant du premier siècle après la fin de l'iconoclasme. La peinture de Lagami est apparemment créée avant la formation du nouveau système, c'est à dire avant le milieu du x^e s.

Le décor du milieu du x^e s. de la nouvelle église de Tokalí, un monument du niveau métropolitain, est un des premiers spécimens du nouveau style. Vers la peinture de la nouvelle église de Tokalí gravitent aussi les plus anciens décors de la principauté sud-géorgienne Tao Klardjéti, Dört kilise et Ishan, comme l'a prouvé N. Thierry qui date les décors des années 50-60 du x^e s. (26) À Dört kilise, N. Thierry constate néanmoins une certaine parenté avec la peinture de l'atelier de l'ancienne église de Tokalí (913-920) (27). Les fresques archaïsantes de Dört kilise avec leurs figures très allongées, leur rythme compliqué des plis, leurs types des faces ont peu de ressemblance avec la peinture de Lagami, bien qu'on puisse leur supposer une source commune dans l'art d'Asie Mineure.

Les peintures de Lagami ne se trouvent pas d'analogies directes parmi les monuments d'art créés dans d'autres principautés géorgiennes, bien que la Géorgie possède beaucoup d'ensembles du ix^e et du x^e s.. Créés dans différents centres d'art, à Karthlie, en Kakhétie, à Garedgie, en Svanéthie (28), possédant des particularités locales spécifiques, ils ne quittent point le courant de l'art chrétien oriental du type syrien, auquel est caractéristique la schématisation extrême des formes. Là, on ne trouve pas de visages qui conserveraient entièrement le modèle de la première époque byzantine comme ceux de Lagami. Dans la peinture géorgienne la plus ancienne, nous n'en trouvons que quelques traits : les yeux aux dimensions exagérées, la paupière inférieure abaissée. Pourtant d'ordinaire le regard des personnages dans les monuments

(26) N. THIERRY, *Peintures du x^e siècle en Géorgie méridionale et leurs rapports avec la peinture byzantine d'Asie mineure*, dans *CA*, 24 (1975), pp. 73-113.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 108.

(28) Les fresques de 864 à Armazi et à Pavnissi du x^e s. (Karthlie) ; dans l'église S. Dodo du x^e s. et à Sapéérébi du x^e s. (Garedgie) ; à Nesgoune du début du x^e s., à Ats, à Ipkhi et à Nakipari de la fin du x^e au début xi^e s. (Svanéthie) — cf. T. S. CHÉVIAKOVA, *Monoumentalnaia zhyvopis Rannego Srednevekovia Grouzii*, Tbilissi, 1983, repr. 18-50, 160, pp. 80, 86-89, 120 (en russe).

d'art géorgiens ne possède pas l'intensité extatique. Les proportions naturelles des figures dans les peintures murales géorgiennes les plus anciennes sont troublées : les dimensions des têtes, des pieds et des bras sont sensiblement agrandies. La peinture ancienne géorgienne ne rend pas le volume des figures qui n'y sont que contournées et colorées, les rehauts blancs ont plutôt l'aspect d'une décoration ornementale que la valeur d'un accent plastique. C'est une large ligne-contour noire (parfois rouge) tracée librement, qui est ici la première à créer l'image, et cette liberté évoque le dessin de Lagami ; pourtant dans les plus anciens monuments géorgiens la ligne est d'un caractère très conventionnel et ne crée pas la forme, ce qui la distingue de la ligne vigoureuse de Lagami ou de celle des monuments grecs nommés ci-dessus. Nous estimons que c'est dans le caractère de la ligne que se trouve la distinction principale entre la peinture qui conserva ses fondements hellénistiques, et la peinture qui fut formée hors de cette tradition. C'est à celle-ci qu'on pourrait rapporter la peinture syrienne et géorgienne (celle de la période la plus ancienne).

Quoique le décor à Lagami ne s'inscrive point dans le contexte de la peinture de Géorgie (y compris la Svanéthie), quelques monuments locaux révèlent des motifs communs avec Lagami. Ils sont plus visibles dans les fresques du x^e s. de l'église Mtskhvar (Saint-Sauveur) dans le village de Nesgoune qui fait partie de la commune svane de Lendgéri (29), situé pas loin de Lagami. Ces peintures, qui ne couvrent que l'abside et la conque de l'église, sont d'un style simplifié, ayant peu de ressemblances avec celui de Lagami ; pourtant une série de traits communs témoignent de leur appartenance à la même époque. Il s'agit de l'encadrement des registres par des raies larges, ornementées de parallélogrammes gris qui sont rangés «en accordéon», des fonds clairs, presque blancs, du regard extatiquement intense des personnages. Nous ne pourrions pas trouver des faces ayant un regard pareil dans la peinture svane du x^e s. et postérieure où les fonds blancs sont rares. Seules les raies d'encadrement ornementées, y compris celles du type «en accordéon», apparaissent encore dans les peintures svanes du xi^e et du xii^e s. (30).

Les fresques de Nesgoune sont un peu à l'écart des peintures svanes du x^e s. : dans la disposition rythmique des figures à proportions natu-

(29) CHÉVIAKOVA, p. 17, repr. 63-66.

(30) *Ibid.*, repr. 81, 86.

relles, dans le dessin correct des faces, on peut sentir un modèle professionnel, ce que nous ne pouvons pas dire sur les décors svanes, folkloriques de caractère et spontanées. Aussi peut-on affirmer que le décor de Nesgoune avait une autre source de style que la peinture svane du x^e s., et ce sont les fresques de Lagami qui pourraient constituer cette source.

Toutes les analogies et les comparaisons citées nous poussent à la conclusion que les peintures de la première couche dans l'église d'en bas à Lagami présentent un phénomène non-local, lié par son iconographie et par son style à la peinture byzantine du premier quart du x^e s.

D'après la situation historique des ix^e-x^e s. en Géorgie Occidentale, avec laquelle la Svanéthie avait des relations économiques et culturelles directes en raison de sa situation géographique, on peut supposer la présence dans son milieu artistique d'un maître de formation byzantine. Pendant quelques siècles qui suivirent la conquête du littoral de la mer Noire et de la Colchide par l'empereur Justinien, la Géorgie Occidentale faisait partie d'une province byzantine d'Asie Mineure (31). La situation politique de l'Abkhazie et de l'Imérétie changea au ix^e s. à cause de la création du royaume abkhazien indépendant ; pourtant les relations culturelles avec Byzance restèrent encore actives pendant une longue période de temps.

La question de la subordination ecclésiastique de la Géorgie Occidentale et de la Svanéthie qui, pendant le ix^e et le x^e s., faisait partie de son organisme ecclésiastique est floue à cause de l'insuffisance des sources. L'opinion, d'après laquelle avant la fin du ix^e ou le début du x^e s. la Géorgie Occidentale, et la Svanéthie avec elle, faisait-elle partie de la métropole de Trébizonde, nous paraît la plus vraisemblable. Ensuite les évêchés anciens institués en Géorgie Occidentale encore, par les Byzantins furent remplacés par d'autres, plus nombreux, ce qui est lié à l'activité de l'Église abkhazienne déjà autocéphale (32). Nous

(31) Sous Justinien elle faisait partie du diocèse d'Asie Mineure dont le centre était à Césarée (cf. *Arte della Cappadocia*, p. 30) ; dès le vii^e s. du thème des Arméniaques ; dès la première moitié du ix^e s. — à cause du parcellement ultérieur des thèmes —, du thème de Chaldé (cf. *Istoriia Vizantii*, II, Moscou, 1967, pp. 35, 36, 39).

(32) *Kratkaia istoriia grouzinskoi tserkvi, sostavlennaia kandidatom Platonom Iosseliani*, St-Peterbourg, 1843, pp. 35 et 137 (en russe). L'opinion d'Iosséliani est soutenue par T. BOUTKÉVITCH, *K voprossou ob avtokefalii grouzinskoi tserkvi*, Kharkov, 1906, p. 33. On ne connaît pas la mesure de l'indépendance de l'Église autocéphale abkhazienne au x^e s.. En 985 l'Imérétie, l'Abkhazie, la Gourie et la

ne rencontrons pas celui de Svanéthie dans la liste restituée (pas complètement) des nouveaux évêchés, mais il est très probable qu'il surgisse à cette époque (cf. *supra*).

Il est important à noter qu'à la fin du IX^e et au début du X^e s. la Géorgie Occidentale avait des relations régulières avec Trébizonde, un des grands centres de culture et d'économie d'Asie Mineure⁽³³⁾, très naturelles pour une Église locale et sa métropole. Ces relations ecclésiastiques engendraient des contacts artistiques, qui ne disparurent point après l'isolation de l'Église abkhazienne.

La construction de grandes cathédrales est poursuivie dans les grandes villes et les centres épiscopaux de l'Abkhazie pendant tout le X^e s., en faisant beaucoup d'emprunts aux traditions de l'architecture byzantine⁽³⁴⁾. L'investigateur de l'architecture géorgienne V. V. Bérizé considère que la grandiose cathédrale épiscopale à Mokvi, érigée au milieu du X^e s., est particulièrement proche des églises byzantines du IX^e s., appartenant au type de «la croix inscrite», répandu à l'époque. Le chercheur indique des parallèles proches parmi les églises de Constantinople et d'Asie Mineure⁽³⁵⁾.

Il serait naturel de supposer que les contacts artistiques entre la Géorgie Occidentale et Byzance aux IX^e et X^e s. n'étaient pas réduits seulement au domaine de l'architecture, mais englobaient aussi la peinture, d'autant plus que c'était l'époque de la réaffirmation et de la propagation de la peinture des icônes. Les ensembles de fresques d'Abkhazie ne sont pas parvenus jusqu'à nos jours, pourtant les fragments de la couche la plus ancienne de peinture dans l'église de Lykhné, qui datent du X^e s.⁽³⁶⁾, sont proches par leurs formes ornementales, par le type et les procédés de la peinture des faces, des fresques cappadociennes du 1106 dans l'église de Sainte-Barbe de Soganli, qui sont d'un style

Svanéthie se sont soumises au pouvoir du catholicos d'Iveria (de Mtsheta) (cf. M. M. DOURNOVO, *Istoritcheskii otcherk avtokefalnikh tserkvei Iverskoi i Imeretinskoi so spiskami 120 eparkhii mtskhetskikh i imeretino-abkhazskikh*, Moscou, 1910, p. 19 (en russe).

(33) *Istoriia Vizantii*, V, II, p. 48.

(34) AMIRANACHVILI, pp. 204-205 (en russe).

(35) V. V. BÉRIZÉ, *Gruzinskaia architectura perechodnogo perioda*, dans *IV Mezhdunarodnyi simpozium po gruzinskomu iskusstvu. Sbornik dokladov*, Tbilissi, 1989, I, p. 96.

(36) CHÉVIAKOVA, repr. 104-108.

développé et original ⁽³⁷⁾. Les deux monuments appartiennent néanmoins à une étape de la peinture d'Asie Mineure postérieure à Lagami.

La Svanéthie ne s'est pas assimilée un style développé de l'architecture, sa peinture du x^e s. est plutôt populaire, folklorique, mais elle pouvait, par l'intermédiaire de son évêque ou d'un représentant d'une famille riche du pays, s'adresser à un maître byzantin se produisant en Géorgie Occidentale et lié à un des centres d'art d'Asie Mineure.

Moscou.

Lilia EVSEEVA.

Traduit du russe par Petr GREYDING.

(37) THIERRY, 1971, p. 159, fot. 89.

THE CREATION OF BYZANTIUM'S SPANISH PROVINCE. CAUSES AND PROPAGANDA

Analysing Justinian's motives for including the Iberian Peninsula in his plans to reconquer the West is certainly not a new topic. Generally, economic and military motives ranging from an interest in monopolizing trade in the Western Mediterranean for easy access to the Atlantic trade routes to safeguarding the newly conquered African provinces or even aborting any possibility of Visigoth support for the Ostrogoths' last resistance in Italy have been given for his decision. The Emperor's ideological beliefs and megalomania have also been mentioned and he certainly wanted to extend his domains to the entire *pars Occidentis* and attain a political union in Christendom⁽¹⁾. On the other hand, the reasons for the timing of the conquest and the influence of outbreak of civil war between the Visigoths Agila and Athanagild are all debatable. The question is whether the motives for conquest would, by themselves, have led to a territorially limited domain on the Spanish Mediterranean coast, or whether the small size of the domain was the result of the Empire's limited military and economic resources.

I will not give a detailed description of each motive or debate all the possibilities. On the contrary, my main purpose is to weight them

(1) See M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua (Ss. V-VIII): Un capítulo de historia mediterránea*, Alcalá de Henares, 1993, pp. 41ff. This book is the last and most comprehensive study about this topic, replacing all the earlier ones (specially F. GÖRRES, *Die Byzantinische Besitzungen an den Küsten des spanisch-westgotischen Reiches*, in *BZ*, 16 (1907), pp. 514-538 ; P. GOUBERT, *Byzance et l'Espagne wisigothique*, in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 2 (1944), pp. 5-78 ; 3 (1945), pp. 126-142 ; and 4 (1946), pp. 71-133 ; K. F. STROHEKER, *Germanentum und Spätantike*, Zürich, 1965, pp. 207-245 ; E. A. THOMPSON, *The Goths in Spain*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 320-334). A special analysis about the causes of the Byzantine *Reconquista* in : A. R. KORSUNSKIJ, *K voprosi o vizantijskij zaveo vanijaj v Ispanii VI-VII vv.*, in *VV*, 12, 1957, 31-45 ; and F. SALVADOR, *Reflexiones sobre las causas de la intervención bizantina en la Península*, in A. GONZÁLEZ (ed.), *Los Visigodos. Historia y civilización (= Antigüedad y Cristianismo, III)*, Murcia, 1986, pp. 69-74.

and evaluate their different influences, suggesting their hierarchy in regard to Justinian's general foreign policy as well as within the more specific reality of the Byzantine-Visigoth confrontation. This relatively new approach within modern bibliography may give rise to particularly novel results since the thread of this study will follow the Byzantine and Visigoth propaganda during the confrontation, and the echo that each side seemed to perceive in the main social groups of *Spania*, the Byzantine province (2).

A primary methodological approach should distinguish structural motives from opportunity. The former would be more important to understanding why the Empire made such an effort to conquer and then maintain *Spania* intact for nearly three quarters of a century (3) and, why, despite this, its domain was limited to a narrow stretch along the Mediterranean coast. For its part, opportunity would particularly explain the moment chosen for the conquest very well but to a lesser degree also the territorial self-limitation.

Defense of recently reconquered Africa and the control of the Western Mediterranean and Atlantic trade routes through the strategic Strait of Gibraltar are the most widely cited structural motives (4). The defense of Africa — fundamentally the ancient provinces of *Proconsular*, *Byzacena* and *Numidia* — is explained, among other things, by the special interest in dominating the strategic points from which attacks and invasions had traditionally been launched. *Septum*, or Ceuta, and *Julia Transducta*, or Algeciras, are the most important. Both were the crossing points at the Strait of Gibraltar, the only invasion route to Africa for any Iberian Peninsula military force without a strong fleet, as had already been demonstrated on various occasions in the fifth century by the invading barbarian armies, particularly the Visigoth

(2) This was the official name of the Spanish possessions: L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Organización militar de Bizancio en la Península Ibérica (ss. VI-VII)*, in *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, 33 (1973), p. 13.

(3) See L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Vándalos, visigodos y bizantinos en Granada (409-711)*, in N. MARIN (ed.), *In Memoriam Agustín Díaz Toledo*, Granada-Almería, 1985, pp. 142-245; ID., *Ceuta y el estrecho de Gibraltar durante la Antigüedad Tardía (s. V-VIII)*, in *I Congreso Internacional "El Estrecho de Gibraltar"*, Ceuta, 1987, pp. 1108ff.; and M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 265 ff.

(4) F. SALVADOR, *Reflexiones sobre las causas de la intervención bizantina*, pp. 69-74; M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, 44; L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Colonias de comerciantes orientales en la Península Ibérica. S. V-VII*, in *Habis*, 3 (1972), pp. 153 ff.

Valia (415-416) and the Vandal Geiseric (429) (5). The strategic importance of the Strait to Byzantium's African domains explains Justinian's interest in militarily occupying and fortifying, as soon as the Vandal Kingdom had been destroyed, a series of ports on the coast of the ancient *Mauritaniae*, very particularly Ceuta. However the hinterland of these provinces was still dominated by Berber chiefs and tribes (6).

The importance of both sides of the Strait to Byzantium explains its tireless efforts to avoid retreating even one millimeter from the *Spania*'s eastern frontier, which ran West of Medina Sidonia and Algeciras, despite the Visigoth attacks made there between 571 and 610 (7). When the Empire finally lost the Spanish side, in the acute crisis of the first years of Heraclius' reign, they would reinforce the African beach head, and concentrate — at least before 687 — an extremely powerful war fleet in the base at *Septum* (8). The famous 534 decree in which Justinian administratively and militarily organized the recently conquered African territory (9) specifies the fundamental mission of the Tribune in command at Ceuta as observing the events in Spain, the Galias and between the Franks (10). The realistic character of this Imperial declaration and the value of the African city as a bridge head for the invasion of the African territories from Visigothic Spain, or vice-versa, is clearly demonstrated by the failed attempt of the Visigoth

(5) See L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Ceuta y el estrecho de Gibraltar durante la Antigüedad Tardía*, pp. 1098-2000.

(6) Other byzantine strongholds in Mauritania were Caesarea and Rusaddir (PROCOPIUS, *Bellum Vandalicum*, II, 5, 5); cf. H.-J. DIESNER, *Der Untergang der römischen Herrschaft in Nordafrika*, Weimar, 1964, pp. 151ff.; Y. DUVAL, *La Maurétanie Sitifienne à l'époque byzantine*, in *Latomus*, 1970, pp. 157-161; D. CLAUDE, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse, III, 144)*, Göttingen, 1985, p. 61 n. 233.

(7) IOHANNES BICLARENSIS (ed. J. CAMPOS, Madrid, 1960). a.a. 570, 2; 571, 3; ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum* (ed. C. RODRÍGUEZ ALONSO, León, 1975), p. 58. See L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Ceuta y el estrecho de Gibraltar durante la Antigüedad Tardía*, pp. 1107ff. and M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 151-154 and 265ff.

(8) L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *El fin de la talasocracia bizantina en el Occidente mediterráneo*, in P. BADENAS - J. M. EGEA (edd.), *Oriente y Occidente en la Edad Media. Influjos bizantinos en la Cultura occidental*, Vitoria, 1993, pp. 102-105, with an analysis of the Justinian II's *iussio* in 687 (*PL*, 96, 427).

(9) C. DIEHL, *L'Afrique Byzantine. Histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique (503-709)*, Paris, 1896, pp. 116ff.

(10) *CJ*, I, 27, 2, 2.

king Theudis to occupy it shortly before his death in 548. Some years earlier, in 533, the same Theudis had attempted to cut the Imperial agents off, momentarily occupying Ceuta which had been abandoned by the Vandals just before Belisarius' attack on Carthage ⁽¹¹⁾.

Together with the domination of the two beach heads on the Strait of Gibraltar, recent military history indicated that possession of the Balearic Islands and the important Spanish port of Cartagena were fundamental to safeguarding Byzantine Africa against any possible invasion by a power foreign to the Empire. The sea currents facilitated navigation between the Spanish Levant and the Algerian and Tunisian coasts. Cartagena had been the starting point of Majorian's frustrated great naval expedition against the Kingdom of the Vandals in 460 ⁽¹²⁾. Cartagena had been the port from which the Vandals attacked the Balearic Islands as early as 425 ⁽¹³⁾. The Byzantines reconquered the Balearic Islands from the Vandals very quickly at the end of 533 ⁽¹⁴⁾. From the islands they went on to dominate a still important *annona* trade in the Western mediterranean ⁽¹⁵⁾, and the islands were a base from which to watch for any offensive action against their African domains from the Spanish Levantine Coast. But the defense of the Islands required controlling those same peninsular coasts sooner or later. The major military and administrative reorganization involved in Maurice's creation of the Carthage Exarchate, established a single military district called "*Eparchía* of Mauritania II and *Spania*", with the imperial lands on the Iberian Peninsula, Ceuta and the Balearic Islands ⁽¹⁶⁾. This single district shows that for Byzantium, the Strait of Gibraltar, the Balearic Islands and the Levantine and southeast Spanish coasts were the same single strategic objective in their aim of controlling the Western Mediterranean and defending the African Exarchate.

(11) ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum*, 42. See E. GONZÁLBES, *El ataque del rey visigodo Teudis contra Septem*, in *Cuadernos del Archivo Municipal de Ceuta*, II, 5 (1989), pp. 41-54 ; ID., *Los bizantinos en Ceuta (Siglos VI-VII)*, Ceuta, 1986, p. 28 and note 3 ; M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 67ff.

(12) HYDATIUS (ed. A. TRANOY, Paris, 1974), 200.

(13) HYDATIUS, 86.

(14) M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 75ff.

(15) M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 75-76 ; D. CLAUDE, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer*, pp. 71ff.

(16) L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Organización militar de Bizancio en la Península Ibérica*, p. 13 ; M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 61ff.

Archeological and literary testimonies affirm the existence of an Atlantic route that, following coasts, could carry ideas and products from the Byzantine Mediterranean to the distant British Islands, and that lasted at least until the first decades of the seventh century (17). Such a route required many layovers in Hispanic ports — the most important had active colonies of Greek speaking Eastern mediterranean traders in the second half of the sixth century and first decades of the seventh century. However it does not seem that these colonies were particularly affected by the hostility that existed in those years between the Visigothic-Hispano kingdom and Byzantium (18). Nor is there testimony of an active political control of markets or sea routes in those waters by the naval powers of the time ; nor would such control have been easy.

But, however important trade may have been for Byzantine economy of the time, it is certain that the supposed domination of the oceanic borders of the *ekoumene* was an essential part of Justinian's propaganda (19). Certainly he was only repeating a motif used from the time of Augustus : the *imitatio Herculis* and *Alexandri* ; and it was specially used in times of a more or less victorious confrontation with the eternal Iranian enemy (20). This kind of propaganda supposed a particular world-view, one which thought the inhabited continents (Europe, Asia and Africa) were surrounded by a great Circumterrestrial Ocean that had four great gulfs or entries : the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. Of these, the entry to the Mediterranean Sea was the Strait of Gibraltar or North-western Columns while the entry to the Caspian Sea or Hyrcanian

(17) L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Colonias de comerciantes orientales en la Península Ibérica*, pp. 148 ff. ; D. CLAUDE, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer*, pp. 154ff.

(18) L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Colonias de comerciantes orientales en la Península Ibérica*, pp. 131ff. ; M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 430ff.

(19) So in the famous *Novella XXX*, 11, 2 (a. 536) Justinian confirms his determination to conquer all lands held under Roman rule in other times *μέχρι τῶν πρὸς ἑκάτερον ὠκεανὸν ὀρίων*.

(20) R. DION, *Aspects politiques de la géographie antique*, Paris, 1977, pp. 247ff. ; G. VANOTTI, *Prospettive ecumeniche e limiti reali nella definizione dei confine augustei*, in M. SORDI (ed.), *Il confine nel mondo classico*, Milano, 1987, pp. 234-249 ; L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Alejandro Magno y la política exterior de Augusto*, in J. M. CROISILLE (ed.), *Neronia IV. Alejandro Magno, modelo de los emperadores romanos*, Bruxelles, 1990, pp. 140-142 ; G. NENCI, *Introduzione alle guerre persiane e altri saggi di storia antica*, Pisa, 1958, pp. 285-308.

Gulf was to the north east in the legendary septentrional Columns of Hercules.

This view, inherited from Hellenistic Geography had suffered no alteration as a consequence of Christianity or of learning knowledge of the existence of China. The proof of this and of its complete acceptance in times of Justinian is the "Christian Topography" by Cosmas Indicopleustes, written c. 547-549 (21). According to this work, Constantinople held a central position, almost equidistant from the entries to the four oceanic gulfs (22). Cosmas believed in the eternity of the Empire based on its essential mission of extending Christendom to all of the *ekoumene* (§ II.75). He believed that a sign of the immanence of the Empire's universal domination was the existence of churches in all of the world beginning with the land's end at Cadiz (§ III.66) and the generalized acceptance of imperial coins in all commercial transactions (§ II.77).

This is why Justinian's aggressive *renovatio Imperii* had to be directed towards dominating the entries to the oceanic gulfs, particularly those of the Mediterranean, Caspian and Red Seas (23) that had been controlled by Augustus and the *prisci romani*; the first two that let out on the Northwestern and Northeastern Oceans. This program of oceanic conquest, particularly of lands near Cadiz and the Caspian Sea, would already have been formulated in the famous XXX *Novella* dated April 536 (24). That is two years after having conquered the Vandal Kingdom and one year after having reorganized the provinces of the Black Sea and announcing his domination of the Caucasian lands (*Novel.*, XXVIII). At one end of the earth and at the other Justinian proceeded to erect fortifications in honor of the Mother of God (25). This is why it is not at all strange that years later, after creating a province of Cadiz in Spain, the emperor's panegyrists particularly commended the symmetry of his conquests in these lands and in the Caucasus and Black Sea. Agathias of Myrina's introduction to his well

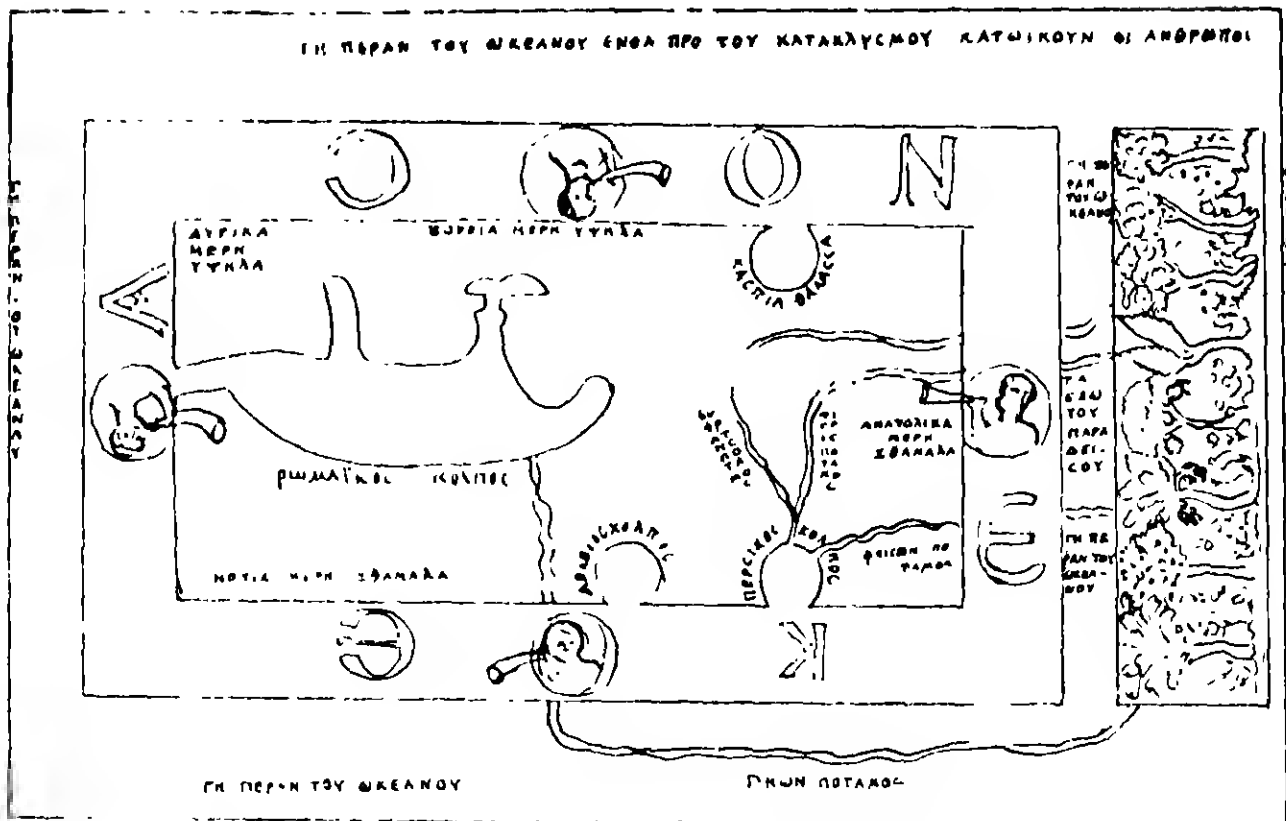
(21) W. WOLSKA-CONUS, *Cosmas Indicopleustès. Topographie Chrétienne*, I, Paris, 1968, p. 16.

(22) See the map in the following page.

(23) See E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, Paris-Bruges, 1949, pp. 298ff. and 300-305; A. M^a DEMICHELI, *I regni cristiani di Nubia e i loro rapporti col mondo bizantino*, in *Aegyptus*, 58 (1978), pp. 185ff.

(24) See note 19.

(25) A. CAMERON, *The Theotokos in Sixth Century Constantinople. A City finds its Symbol*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 29 (1978), pp. 79-80 and 103-104.



MAP I. — (from W. Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustés*, II, 35).

known *Kyklos* is a brilliant example ; this author felt Justinian had placed the Empire's frontiers at the Ocean : Gades and Thule on the West and North, Colchis and the Hyrcanian Gulf on the East, beyond the famous semimythic Tanais ; and in the legendary land of Nasamones on the South (26). Earlier, Procopius had given special attention to describing the Christian edifices erected by Justinian in Ceuta (27) and commemorating the Emperors' domination of all the lands bordering the Red Sea (28), although this domination was more indirect than direct.

In someone as megalomaniac as Justinian and so possessed of his universal mission as Orthodox Emperor and inheritor of the ancient Caesars it would not be unlikely for these demands for oceanic domination to have pushed him to conquer the territory around Cadiz in Spain. From a pragmatic viewpoint this conquest was also extremely advisable since it reinforced his African domains.

(26) AGATHIAS (= *Anthologia Palatina graeca*, ed. P. WAITZ, Paris, 1928, 4, 3, 4, 54-55 and 74-98).

(27) PROCOPIUS, *De Aedificiis*, VI, 7, 14. New excavations are confirming Procopius (E. GONZALBES, *El ataque del rey visigodo Teudis contra Septem*, in *Cuadernos del Archivo Municipal de Ceuta*, II, 5 (1989), p. 49 note 17).

(28) PROCOPIUS, *Bellum Persicum*, II, 3, 40.

Thus the Justinian's most important structural motives for taking Spain, were his strategic and ideological necessities born in 534 at the latest. However the first Byzantine expeditionary forces' landing on the Peninsula was delayed until 552. Normally the reasons for this delay have been attributed to the difficulties posed in the meantime by the terrible Ostrogothic war in Italy, the continuous Berber invasions in Africa and the reopening of the hostilities on the Persian front. However, the opportunity created by the Visigothic civil war between Agila and Athanagild has also been proposed as the decisive reason for Justinian's resolution to invade Visigothic Spain (29). This affirmation could seem contradictory with the idea that hispanic conquest was from the beginning, part of the *Renovatio Imperii*, as mentioned above. This is why reanalyzing the possible motives that existed at the time for Justinian's Spanish expedition seems a good idea.

There are several indications that seem to show that the Visigoths feared Byzantine intervention on the Iberian Peninsula from the very moment that Carthage fell to Belisarius. However, this fear would have led a king like Theudis (531-548) to reinforce Visigothic political and military presence in the two most sensitive points for such an invasion : the area at the Strait of Gibraltar and the Spanish Levant. The first is demonstrated by the two attacks on the vital fortress of Ceuta, around 533 and between 542 and 548, and establishing Seville as one of the seats of principal Gothic political power (30). Nevertheless these measures only meant reinforcing the traditional Visigothic geostrategy on the Peninsula which was based in the control of a long NE-SW axis, particularly after the loss of most of their Gallic domains after 507 (31).

However, the relation of the Peninsular southeast and Valencia with the Visigothic monarchies had been quite different. Imperial Roman power had persisted in these regions longer than the rest of the peninsula and communication with the Roman papal See was more frequent, and they were marginal to Visigothic geo-strategy. So these areas may have been the place where very autonomous political powers, based

(29) See other points of view in M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 90ff.

(30) L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *España Visigoda. Historia de España fundada por R. Menéndez Pidal*, III, 1, Madrid, 1991, pp. 155-157.

(31) L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *La arqueología y la historia militar visigoda en la Península Ibérica*, in *II Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española. Comunicaciones*, Madrid, 1987, pp. 334-336.

on the traditional urban aristocracies and their control of the episcopal sees, may have emerged at the beginning of the sixth century. Theudis would have wanted to extirpate this dangerous autonomous tendency which was also fed by Levantine ecclesiastic circle's distrust to the growing prepotency of the See in Toledo, where the Visigothic Court resided on an ever more regular basis. Theudis' action would essentially have consisted in situating an important Gothic military force in Valencia and in naming Justinian as Bishop there. This Justinian came from a Northeastern family closely tied to the Visigothic Monarchy. Theudis would also have tried to convert Justinian into the visible head of all of the Southeast and Levantine churches despite their traditional dependency on the Metropolitan See of Cartagena (32). The king and the new Valencian bishop jointly developed new defensive works on the coast (33).

Theudis' fear of an immediate Byzantine invasion was certainly well founded. The invasion had more possible routes than the direct maritime one. The Byzantine diplomats could also employ other unfriendly military powers to harass the Visigoths. In this respect it is very easy to see an imperial finger in the major Frank invasion that reached the walls of Saragossa in 541, contemporary to Byzantine petitions to the Merovingian kings to attack the Ostrogoths in Italy from the north (34). Despite the failure of that expedition, the danger continued. Significantly in their August 546 meeting the Hispanic Northeast bishops ordered the churchmen to refrain from defending their cities if they were attacked by foreigners (35).

(32) See L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Vándalos, visigodos y bizantinos en Granada*, pp. 135ff.; ID., *Los orígenes de la Carpetania visigoda*, in *Toledo y Carpetania en la Edad antigua*, Toledo, 1990, pp. 243ff.; ID., *La monarquía visigoda y la Iglesia en Levante. Las raíces de un país*, in A. POVEDA - L. A. GARCÍA MORENO (edd.), *El espacio religioso y profano en los territorios urbanos de Occidente (siglos V-VIII)* in print. On Justinian see ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *De viris illustribus*, 33 (ed. C. CODONER, Salamanca, 1964), and G. KAMPERS, *Personengeschichtliche Studien zum Westgotenreich in Spanien*, Münster, 1979, p. 24, n° 68.

(33) J. VIVES, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*, Barcelona, 1969, n° 279; J. A. GISBERT, *Dianium*, in *Arqueología en Alicante 1976-1986*, Alicante, 1986, pp. 25-27.

(34) ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum*, 41. Cf. L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Algunas cuestiones de Historia navarra en la Antigüedad tardía (siglos V-VIII)*, in *Primer Congreso General de Historia de Navarra, 2. Comunicaciones*, Pamplona, 1986, p. 413; M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, p. 93 and note 92.

(35) *Concilium Ilerdense*, 1. Probably these enemies were the Franks; and so this mandate shows the opposition of the Catholic Church against Theudis' regime, maybe

Naturally, Byzantium's use of diplomatic means to its ends in Visigoth controlled Spain was paralleled by other diplomatic actions on the part of Theudis himself and the others injured by Justinian's western *Renovatio Imperii*. Specifically, the Vandal Gelimer sought alliance with and support from Theudis against Belisarius' lethal attack and he may have gotten it in the Goth's 533 occupation of Ceuta⁽³⁶⁾. Procopius also tells us that Ildebad's election as king by the Ostrogoth army was helped by the fact that he was Theudis' nephew, which might incline to give him military support⁽³⁷⁾. And it is possible that the same motive also favored the elevation of Totila, Theudis' grand-nephew, to the throne in October of 541 in detriment of Eraric, who was disposed to making peace with the Empire. Theudis' second attempt to control strategic Ceuta could well be framed in this Visigoth-Ostrogoth alliance⁽³⁸⁾; if it had been successful it would have constituted a serious invasion threat to the Empire's African domains, which at that time were also suffering Berber attacks⁽³⁹⁾.

The rule and power of Theoderic the Great over the Visigoths (507-526) was largely based on the settlement in the Visigoth Kingdom of a large number of Ostrogoth military men who were joined to his person and blood line. Theoderic married these men off to noble Visigoth and Hispano-Roman ladies before appointing them to important ruling posts. After Theoderic's death, Procopius tells us that many of these Ostrogoths opted to remain in the Visigoth Kingdom⁽⁴⁰⁾. This group of Ostrogoth origin would control the Visigoth Kingdom in the

because the King was bringing catholics into the gothic and royal Arian Church (*Concilium Ilerdense*, 9 and 13). Of course, in Isidore (*Historia Gothorum*, 41) Theudis looks as a friend of the Catholic Church in Spain, but this enactment might be a simple deduction from having been held three synods in times of Theudis and recorded in the *Colletio Hispana*, put together by Isidore (G. MARTÍNEZ DIEZ, *La colección canónica Hispana*, I, Madrid, 1966, p. 210). A different point of view in K. SCHÄFER-DIEK, *Die Kirche in den Reichen der Westgoten und Suewen bis zur Errichtung der westgotischen Katholischen Staatskirche*, Berlin, 1967, p. 92.

(36) PROCOPIUS, *Bellum Vandalicum*, I, 24, 7.

(37) PROCOPIUS, *Bellum Gothicum*, II, 30, 14.

(38) Cf. H. WOLFRAM, *Histoire des Goths*, Paris, 1990, pp. 369 and 374. Of course, at this time they might profit from the military success of Totila in 547.

(39) After the success of Salomon from 543 onwards (PROCOPIUS, *Bellum Vandalicum*, II, 24, 1-28 and 41): E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, p. 547; G. W. SHEA, *Justinian's North African Strategy in the Johannis of Corippus*, in *Byzantine Studies*, 10.1 (1983), pp. 29-38.

(40) *Bellum Gothicum*, I, 13, 7-8; and cf. L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *España Visigoda*, p. 146.

following decades and the royal heirs, Theudis (531-548) and Theudigisel (548-549) were of Ostrogoth origin (41). Although we do not know Agila's (549-555) ethnic origin, we do know that his rise to the throne certainly did not mean the loss of control on the part of the same noble group, who were particularly powerful in the central and north eastern zones of the Visigothic Kingdom (42). However, Agila's early defeat at the hands of Cordoban rebels and the loss of a large part of the royal treasury provoked Athanagild's (550-569) revolt. Differently from his predecessors, Athanagild had a noble Visigoth origin and quite possibly belonged to the Visigoth's famous royal Balthi line (43).

The rebel Athanagild seems to have received strong support from the important Guadalquivir valley, particularly in strategic Seville. Certainly, a large group of Visigoth nobles immediately joined the rebel, although their military potential was possibly inferior to the group that continued to support Agila. At any rate, what cannot be questioned is that the war between the two was an authentic civil war between Goths, and it soon threatened their very survival as a separate *Stamme*, because Athanagild, who felt he was at a disadvantage, asked the Byzantines for help (44). This is how a Byzantine expeditionary force was able to reestablish a fatal military equilibrium between the two Gothic contenders after 552. The imperial forces received important concessions from Athanagild for their support: two thirds of the Mediterranean coast of the Peninsula, including the vital area of the Strait of Gibraltar, the strategic port of Cartagena and the Levantine coast up to a latitude between Jativa and Valencia, which was the closest to the Balearic Islands (45). This means the Empire achieved

(41) H. WOLFRAM, *Histoire des Goths*, p. 472 note 621; L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Genealogías y Linajes Góticos en los Reinos Visigodos de Tolosa y Toledo*, in *Acts of The 20th International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences*, in print.

(42) L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *España Visigoda*, p. 159.

(43) M. ROUCHE, *Brunehaut, wisigothie ou romaine ?*, in A. GONZÁLEZ (ed.), *Los Visigodos. Historia y civilización (= Antigüedad y Cristianismo, III)*, Murcia, 1986, pp. 108ff.; L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Genealogías y Linajes Góticos*, in print.

(44) ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum*, 46. See: L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *España Visigoda*, pp. 159-162; E. A. THOMPSON, *The Goths in Spain*, p. 17. It is not right to see in the rebellious Córdoba a stronghold of the catholic hispanoroman people (L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *La Andalucía de San Isidoro*, in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Historia Antigua*, Córdoba, 1994, p. 559, but *contra*: K. F. STROHEKER, *Germanentum und Spätantike*, p. 209).

(45) About these limits of byzantine territory in Spain see the last examination in M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 118-122.

all its strategic objectives while the Visigoth Kingdom saw Valencia and Seville, which had been designated as strong points against an expected Byzantine invasion, directly threatened.

Justinian again had encountered a legitimizing opportunity to occupy new territory in the West in the dissent in the bosom of the leading groups of a Germanic monarchy. However, differently from the Vandal and Ostrogoth cases, this time the Empire would support the cause of the rebel against that of the supposedly legitimate sovereign. Something that has left at least one historian perplexed ⁽⁴⁶⁾. But Athanagild was a Balthus, and in its time this family had had ties with the famous Amals ⁽⁴⁷⁾. Theoretically, Justinian had intervened in the Ostrogoth kingdom to defend the rights of the direct descendants of Theoderic the Great whose descendants he claimed were under his *patrocinium*. On the other hand the last Amal representative in Italy, king Vitigis, had opted to resign his royalty and personally entrust himself to the Emperor, while his ex-wife, the Amal Matasuentha, married Germanus, cousin to Justinian himself. This curious end to the Amal line was particularly welcomed by the Goth Jordanes who had become a panegyrist of these last Amals in his Constantinopolitan retirement, and a critic of the later Ostrogoth kings who did not belong to the glorious Amal line ⁽⁴⁸⁾. According to Jordanes, the later kings had betrayed Theoderic the Great's political testament which had been based on the loyalty of the Goth people to their sovereign, the affection of the sovereign for the Roman Senate and his fidelity to the Emperor. Respect for the last two clauses had made it possible for the Amal line to survive ; not honoring the obligation would have provoked Justinian's intervention, the defeat of the successive non-Amal kings

(46) R. COLLINS, *Early Medieval Spain. Unity in Diversity, 400-1000*, London, 1983, p. 39. But he misleads at seeing a contradiction between Jordanes (*Getica*, 58, 303) and Isidore (*Historia Gothorum*, 47) ; of course, in Jordanes' text as *insurgenas* as *conclat* are relating to *contra quem* (Agila).

(47) These family ties were before Alaric II married Thiudigothos, a daughter of Theoderic the Great ; see H. WOLFRAM, *Theogonie, Ethnogenese und ein kompromittierter Grossvater im Stammbaum Theodorichs des Grossen*, in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann*, Sigmaringen, 1977, pp. 84ff.

(48) See H. WOLFRAM, *Histoire des Goths*, p. 376, and specially P. HEATHER, *Goths and Romans 332-489*, Oxford, 1991, p. 47 and W. GOFFART, *The narrators of Barbarian History*, Princeton, 1988, pp. 68ff. Of course, a less optimist view of Jordanes is in J. J. O'DONNELL, *The aims of Jordanes*, in *Historia*, 31 (1982), pp. 230ff.

and the disappearance of the Ostrogothic Kingdom⁽⁴⁹⁾. In Jordanes opinion, Theudis had illegitimately taken the throne after the death of Amalric, who represented the lines of both the Balthi and the Amals. Theudis' successors would also have been unable to achieve the loyalty of their Visigoths, which Jordanes implies was behind Athanagild's revolt, which would then certainly not be illegitimate, and behind the request to the Emperor for aid⁽⁵⁰⁾.

In this context Imperial intervention in the Visigothic Kingdom in 552 may well have been presented as the defense of the *Balthi's* legitimate royal rights. Just as the defense of the rights of the Amals in the Ostrogoth Kingdom had been legitimate. In both cases Justinian would have acted against military men of Ostrogothic origin who were ignoring the political testament of Theoderic, who had been king of Ostrogoths and Visigoths. At any rate, it seems fairly logical for Athanagild to present his war against Agila to Justinian as a way of striking a final definitive blow against the Emperor's Ostrogoth enemies in Italy. Well, as we saw, the last non-Amal Ostrogoth kings had counted on their Spanish cousins to help them against the Empire. And it seems that their trust was not completely in vain. Years later, in 579, the Imperial government again tried to take advantage of a new Visigoth civil war, supporting the weakest side, the one led by the rebel prince Hermenegild⁽⁵¹⁾. And again, Byzantium may have justified its decision as supporting the *Balthi* blood of the rebel against this Leovigild who was probably a member of one of the Ostrogoth military families that had established itself in the Visigoth kingdom during the times of Theoderic the Great⁽⁵²⁾.

Given the existing situation, Imperial intervention in the Visigoth Kingdom may have had another significance for Justinian. Around

(49) JORDANES, *Getica*, 59-60, 314.

(50) JORDANES, *Getica*, 57, 303.

(51) W. GOFFART, *Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice. The Pretenders Hermenegild and Gundovald (579-585)*, in *Traditio*, 13 (1957), pp. 89ff. ; R. LIZOP, *Herménégild et Gondoval. Deux épisodes de la politique byzantine en Occident*, in *Revue de Comminges*, 76 (1963), pp. 134ff. ; M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 193ff.

(52) L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Genealogías y Linajes Góticos*, in print. In early 7th Century other testimony of the settlement of ostrogothic families in Septimania — where Liuva's family had their roots — might be the Count Bulgar (L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Prosopografía del Reino visigodo de Toledo*, Salamanca, 1974, n° 30), perhaps a descendent of a bulgarian group carried in Italy by Theodoric the Great.

550 the tension and opposition of the Western Churches against the Emperor, and his insistence on condemning the famous *Tria Capitula* as heretical, had reached its zenith⁽⁵³⁾. On the eve of the decisive ecumenical council to be celebrated in Constantinople in 553 and in view of the reaction of the Frankish church in the Orleans 549 Synod, a serious rebellion in support of the *Tria Capitula* was to be feared, and the hostile Visigoth Kingdom might attempt to support it⁽⁵⁴⁾. This would have been another reason to safeguard Africa by occupying the closest Hispanic territories, without any delay.

The preceding analyses of the motives for the creation of the Byzantine province of *Spania* in the middle of the sixth century, indicate that the principal motives were political and ideological, and reflected the structural necessities and took advantage of the current conditions. Byzantine propaganda justifying its intervention, and Visigoth contra propaganda opposing imperial domination consequently took the same forms.

Together with the reference to recuperating the ancient oceanic limits of the Empire, the fight against invading barbarian enemies would be the other theme in the traditional propaganda of Roman Imperialism that Constantinople employed in Spain. The famous inscription the patrician Comenciolus, the civil and military governor of the province, placed over the remodeled gate in the wall of Cartagena in 589-590 attests to this. According to the inscription⁽⁵⁵⁾, the famous general of the times of Maurice had been sent to Spain *contra hostes barbaros*. In those days *barbari* already had two meanings: 1) the traditional and classic meaning was a people who lived and behaved with their backs on a State of Law, which was characterized by the *cives*, and which gave the *civis* their basic *libertas*, that is public power had the right and duty of fighting and reducing the *barbari* to a subordinate

(53) E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, p. 672; L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, Paris, 1925. John of Biclara and Isidore of Seville have many references to this dispute, considering heretic the dispositions of the Vth World Concile and Justinian's religious policy (A. BARBERO, *El conflicto de los Tres Capítulos y las iglesias hispánicas en los siglos VI y VII*, in *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval*, 5 (1987), pp. 123 ff.).

(54) In the 7th Century also the Lombards profited this religious dispute in order to achieve the support of the Catholic Italian Church against Byzantium's rule; cf. O. BERTOLINI, *I papi e le missioni fino alla metà del secolo VIII*, in *XIV Settimana di Studi sull'alto Medioevo*, Spoleto, 1967, p. 356.

(55) J. VIVES, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*, n^o 362.

condition ; 2) the newer meaning was a people who were either ignorant of or enemies to the orthodox Christian faith (56). This reconversion of the ancient and derogatory term *barbari* had been made at the end of the fourth century by Rufinus of Aquileia in his famous "Church History" (57). At the middle of the sixth century Cosmas Indicopleustes would meld both concepts affirming the emperor's duty to fight all the attacks of his barbarian enemies (*ἐχθροὶ βάρβαροι*) so as to widen the frontiers of the Christian world (58). In 590 calling Visigoths Barbarians would have reflected the opinion of a good part of the Hispanic Catholic hierarchy in the middle of the sixth century ; they took pride in expressing their classic literary and cultural tradition in the teeth of the un-literary gothic culture (59). But, calling Visigoths barbarians just a few months after the solemn conversion of king Recared and his nobles to the Nicenian-Chalcedonian orthodoxy in the III Toledo Church Council was to ignore this fact. This leads us to think that in 552 Byzantine propaganda would have attempted to justify its Hispanic reconquest as a defense of orthodoxy against the barbarian Visigoths who were Aryan heretics.

The Visigothic Monarchy would have reacted against to the Byzantine propaganda in two ways. First they denied the savage and uncultured character assigned to Gothic people and affirmed the "Catholicity" of their faith. Next, they pointed at the heretic character of the Imperial government and the illegality of its dominions in Spain. Undoubtedly, Isidore of Seville in the first decades of the seventh century was the maximum representative of this Visigothic counter-propaganda. Fundamental to denying the negative barbarian character of the Visigoths was Isidore's affirmation that they had nothing to do with the ferocious Germanic tribes like the Franks, a traditional enemy of the Visigothic Monarchy unable to respect any treaty or law. On the contrary, for Isidore, the Visigoths were the direct descendants of the ancient Scythians since their true name was *Getae* (60). By this Isidore achieved

(56) At last see P. AMORY, *Ethnographic Rhetoric, Aristocratic Attitudes and Political Allegiance in Post-Roman Gaul*, in *Klio*, 76 (1994), pp. 439ff.

(57) F. THELAMON, *Paiens et chrétiens au IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1981, pp. 150ff. The two great conversions told by Rufinus were in the farthest corners of the World, in Axum and in Iberia (Georgie, in the Caucasus Montains).

(58) § II, 75.

(59) See M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *De Isidoro al siglo XI*, Barcelona, 1976, pp. 12ff.

(60) ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum*, 1, 67 and 69 ; *Etymologiae*, IX, 2, 89.

two things. On one hand he identified the Goths with all the virtues assigned the good savage who possessed and respected a natural uncontaminated Law, the same virtues Classic Greek-Roman ethnography had always assigned to the Scythians. Implicitly, this imbued the Visigoths with a glorious thousand-year history, converting them into descendants of the only people unconquered by Alexander (61). As worthy inheritors of the *Getae*, Visigoths had managed to conquer Rome, *urbs cunctarum gentium uictrix*, which they victoriously entered and converted in their slave in 410 (62). This conquest became the justification of the Visigoth Monarchy's right to conquer Spain, which was thus fairly taken from the Empire, as Isidore affirmed in his famous *de laude Spaniae* (63). Against Comenciolus' inscription Isidore affirmed that Recared's attacks against Byzantine power had been made *contra romanas insolentias* (64), a phrase traditionally used to describe the Barbarian's illegal raiding wars (65). Additionally, these bellicose actions by the Visigoth king had been performed with the help of faith. The truth is that for Isidore the imperial government and namely, Justinian, represented heresy for their condemnation of the *Tria Capitula* (66). Even if the Visigoth Monarchy had undeniably been Arian for a while, this was the fault of the government in Constantinople; the heretic Valens had sent heretical missionaries to the Goths, and for this he deserved his defeat and death in Adrianople (67). Differently from the Visigoths who fought with the support of the true Faith, by fighting the Visigoths the Byzantines did not even respect their own Faith. Isidore went as so far as to claim that Theudis' defeat before Ceuta was because he had piously respected the Sunday peace-fire while the Byzantines had not (68). Paraphrasing the famous oceanic theme in

(61) See L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Gothic survivals in the visigothic Kingdoms of Toulouse and Toledo*, in *Francia*, 21.1 (1994), pp. 18ff.

(62) ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum*, 15.

(63) See H. MESSMER, *Hispania-Idee und Gotenmythos*, Zürich, 1960, pp. 104ff. Isidore makes a metaphor: the gentle and brave Goths married Lady Spain. W. GOF-FART (*The narrators of Barbarian History*, pp. 68ff.) has noted that in his Ostrogoths-Amals History Jordanes made other marry metaphor too, but for him the Goths were the bride and Rome was the bridegroom.

(64) ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum*, 54.

(65) P. AMORY, *Ethnographic Rhetoric*, pp. 445ff.

(66) See A. BARBERO, *El conflicto de los Tres Capítulos*, p. 134.

(67) ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum*, 9. This idea also was used by Jordanes (*Getica*, 25, 132).

(68) ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum*, 42.

Byzantine propaganda, Isidore closed his *Historia gothorum* affirming that King Suinthila, who had taken the last imperial possessions on the peninsula, had obtained *totius Spaniae intra Oceania fretum monarchiam* (69).

Isidore was certainly not completely original in granting the Goths such a heritage for. Jordanes had already clearly set the Goths apart from the Germans identifying them with the *Getae* and *Scythians*; he had even alluded to the Goths' Biblical ancestor Magog as Isidore did later (70). Neither was Isidore original in identifying Byzantine Government as heretical. In 580 the Byzantines had attempted to justify their advantageous alliance with Hermenegild the usurper on religious terms, since they were supporting a Catholic prince against his father, Leovigild, an Arian. Leovigild's counter-propaganda would have been based on a new dogmatic formulation of a Macedonist tint for the Visigoth Monarchy, defined in the Arian synod of 580. To gain the support of his Catholic subjects Leovigild affirmed the Catholic character of his new Faith, versus that of his opponents which would simply have been *Roman*, that is Byzantine, and thereby suspect of heresy for their supposedly traditional condemnation of the *Tria Capitula* (71). On the other hand, Isidore's affirmation of the non barbarian character of the Visigoths and of their monarchy's respect for Law in opposition of an Empire that in fact was behaving like a Barbarian nation, had an immediate precedent in his brother Leander. Towards 587-590, Leander had written his sister Florentine a letter strongly advising against the family's return to the land of its forefathers, Cartagena, then the capital of the Byzantine province of *Spania*. In Leander's opinion she could not consider her true homeland one in which free men no longer lived and one which lacked *fecunditas*, since it had lost its true *cives* and been repopulated with *extranei* (72).

(69) *Historia Gothorum*, 62.

(70) JORDANES, *Getica*, 4, 29; ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum*, 1.

(71) IOHANNES BICLARENSIS, a.a. 580, 2. Cf. K. F. STROHEKER, *Germanentum und Spätantike*, pp. 173ff.; J. N. HILLGART, *Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in sixth-century Spain and the Byzantine background*, in *Historia*, 15 (1966), pp. 497-508; L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *La coyuntura política del III Concilio de Toledo. Una historia larga y tortuosa*, in *XIV Centenario del III Concilio de Toledo (589-1989)*, Toledo, 1991, pp. 283-286; ID., *Propaganda religiosa y conflicto político en la epigrafía de época visigoda*, in M. MAYER (ed.), *Religio Deorum. Actas del Coloquio internacional de epigrafía "Culto y sociedad en Occidente"*, Sabadell, 1992, pp. 194-199.

(72) LEANDER HISPALENSIS, *Regula Monachorum*, 31. Cf. L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *La Andalucía de San Isidoro*, pp. 556 and 567ff.; J. FONTAINE - P. CAZIER, *Qui a*

Propaganda is one thing and *Realpolitik* certainly another. There is no doubt that the Byzantine governments could and did distinguish one from the other. In 552 Justinian sent troops to defend the royal rights of a Balthus, Athanagild, and orthodoxy against the Arian heresy; Tiberius II may have alleged something similar in his 579 support of Hermenegild. However in 584 the new emperor Maurice felt it opportune to accept 30,000 *solidi* from the heretic Leovigild and abandon the rebel prince to his sad fate⁽⁷³⁾. Four years later the new Visigoth king Recared would do a *Versippung* on the *Balthi* line and, along with all his nobles, be converted to Nicenian-chalcedonian orthodoxy⁽⁷⁴⁾. Nevertheless the Byzantine government never stopped considering them a band of barbarians and developed a policy against them that was more aggressive and had better results than in the times of Leovigild.

Contradictorily, in the same time frame African monks of evident Catholic orthodoxy, like Donatus and Nactus, chose to abandon Byzantine Africa with their brothers and seek refuge in the Hispanic territory controlled by the Arian Leovigild⁽⁷⁵⁾. Perhaps these monks felt the government of the Arian was more tolerant of their Faith than that of the Imperial authorities who were determined to forcefully impose the condemnation of the monks' venerated *Tria Capitula*⁽⁷⁶⁾. After the visigoth Monarchy converted to Catholicism in 589 it is also possible that a part of the episcopal hierarchy of Byzantine *Spania* began to look with very favorable eyes on the integration of their sees in the ecclesiastic provinces included in the Gothic *Regnum*, in which the *Tria Capitula* were respected and considered fully orthodox. Maurice's government would significantly have attempted to amputate these attitudes by deposing some bishops and calling the metropolitan Licinianus to Constantinople, where he soon died from poison in more

chassé de la Carthaginoise Severianus et les siens ? Observations sur l'histoire familiale d'Isidore de Séville, in *Estudios en Homenaje de Don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años*, I, Buenos Aires, 1983, pp. 359 and 386.

(73) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Historia Francorum*, V, 38.

(74) L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *La coyuntura política del III Concilio de Toledo*, pp. 281ff.

(75) *Vitas Patrum Emeretensium* (ed. A. MAYA, Turnholt, 1992), III, 5; HILDEFONSUS TOLETANUS, *De viris illustribus* (ed. C. CODOÑER, Salamanca, 1972), 3.

(76) SO M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 409ff.

than simply suspicious circumstances (77). In 615 the king Sisebut (612-621) stopped a rapid and triumphal military campaign against the Byzantine province of *Spania*, unexplainedly drawing back from conquering the last imperial outpost : Cartagena and its surroundings. Instead, Sisebut pacted with the Empire, then sunk in the terrible crisis of Heraclius' first years, using his own funds to ransom the Byzantine prisoners and decreeing the forced conversion of the Jews in his kingdom. Perhaps because with the triumphal entry of the Sassanid armies into Jerusalem and their collaboration with the Jews of the Empire, Sisebut thought he was living in eschatological times and his religious faith forced him to contribute to the union of Christendom against its common enemies (78).

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(77) GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Epistulae*, XIII, 46, 48 and 49 (ed. D. NORBERG, Turnholt, 1982) ; ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *De viris illustribus* , 29 (ed. C. CODOÑER, Salamanca, 1964). Cf. J. VILELLA, *Relaciones exteriores de la Península Ibérica durante la Baja Romanidad (300-711)*, Tesis Doctoral microfilmada, Barcelona, 1987, pp. 725ff. ; M. VALLEJO, *Bizancio ante la conversión de los visigodos : los obispos Jenaro y Esteban*, in *XIV Centenario del III Concilio de Toledo (589-1989)*, Toledo, 1991, pp. 480ff. ; EAD., *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua*, pp. 418-428.

(78) ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Historia Gothorum*, 61. See L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *España Visigoda*, pp. 216ff.

FLAVIUS HYPATIUS, *QUEM VIDIT
VALIDUM PARTHUS SENSITQUE TIMENDUM.*
AN INVESTIGATION OF HIS CAREER (1)

The focus of this article is Flavius Hypatius, the eldest nephew of the Emperor Anastasius (491-518), who managed in the course of a long and successful career not only never to win any battle, but even to be part of a victorious Roman force (2). Before his military record is examined, however, it will be necessary to view his career in a wider context ; and the second section of this article will therefore look at the careers of his contemporaries, and the general question of the extent to which generals and politicians were caught up in the religious controversies of Anastasius' reign. The third will offer a solution to the difficulties raised concerning Hypatius and his continued success during the reign of Justin, as well as shedding some light upon the elevation of Justin to the purple (3).

I

First, the problems surrounding Hypatius' career need to be outlined (4). When in the night of 8-9 July 518 the elderly Anastasius died,

(1) Quotation from PRISCIAN, *de laude Anastasii imperatoris*, in *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. 5, ed. E. BAEHRENS, Leipzig, 1883, line 300, p. 274. This paper was first delivered at the Late Roman Seminar in Oxford in February 1993 ; I am grateful to Dr S. J. B. Barnish for his comments on that occasion and to Dr J. Bardill and Prof. C. E. V. Nixon for suggestions at a later stage.

(2) BROOKS, in *CMH*, I, p. 485 n. 2 notes a victory of Hypatius announced in Antioch in 513, so it is possible he enjoyed some initial success in his war against Vitalian, cf. A. CHAUVOT, *Procopé de Gaza, Priscien de Césarée, Panégyriques de l'empereur Anastase I^{er}*, Bonn, 1986, pp. 106-107, who corrects the information supplied by Brooks ; but whatever success he had was to prove ephemeral.

(3) The role of Hypatius and Pompey in the Nika riots will not be dealt with this paper, since the events of January 532 have been amply discussed elsewhere, cf. A. CAMERON, *Circus Factions*, Oxford, 1976, pp. 278-280 and BURY, *The Nika riot*, in *JHS*, 17 (1897), pp. 92-119. Also G. GREATREX, *The Nika riot : a reappraisal*, *JHS*, 117 (1997), forthcoming.

(4) The entry of the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (henceforth *PLRE*),

it is clear that his eldest nephew — or at any rate one of his relatives — was expected to succeed him to the throne. Yet in our detailed source on the deliberations surrounding the choice of a new emperor, the *de Caerimoniis*, none of Anastasius' nephews is even mentioned. Hypatius' failure in this case can be resolved fairly simply at a superficial level, since he was evidently not present in Constantinople when his uncle died, and therefore had no opportunity to make a bid for the throne: despite his advanced years, Anastasius' death was unexpected, and Hypatius was serving as *magister militum per Orientem* at the time (5). Yet this is not the end of the problem, for despite the election of Justin, as staunch a supporter of the council of Chalcedon as Anastasius had been its opponent, Hypatius' career continued almost unabated. Although initially he seems to have been relieved of his post, he soon resumed it, being attested as *magister militum per Orientem* in summer 520. He was even entrusted with delicate negotiations with the Persians around 525 concerning their request that Justin adopt Kavadh's son and heir Khusro, in order to secure his succession (6). Furthermore, even despite the failure of these negotiations, and the allegation made to Justin that Hypatius was to blame for this, he was reinstated once again in 527, and was only finally and definitively removed from his post in 529. This in itself warrants investigation, but there are two further aspects of his career which attract attention.

ed. J. MARTINDALE, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1980, *s.v.* *Hypatius* 6, is perhaps the most detailed account of his life. C. CAPIZZI, *L'imperatore Anastasio I*, Rome, 1969, has little to say about him, nor did E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. 2, Paris, 1949, have enough space to consider him in detail. More remarkably, A. VASILIEV, *Justin I*, Cambridge Massachussets, 1950, refers to Hypatius only twice in his detailed account of Justin's reign, p. 114 and p. 267. The only article dedicated even partly to him is that of P. PEETERS, *Hypatius et Vitalien: autour de la succession de l'empereur Anastase*, in *Annuaire de l'institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, 10 (1950) (*Mélanges H. Grégoire*), pp. 5-51. Cf. also L. R. SCOTT, 'Magistri Militum' of the Eastern Roman Empire in the fifth century, Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1973, p. 223, who notes the need for a consideration of the career of Hypatius.

(5) On Anastasius' death, cf. VASILIEV, p. 69 and CAPIZZI, p. 262, STEIN, II, pp. 216-217; its suddenness is noted by THEODORE LECTOR, *Epitome Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, ed. G. HANSON, Berlin, 1971, p. 524. According to an entertaining, if implausible, story in the *Anon. Valesianus*, ed. J. MOREAU and V. VELKOV, Leipzig, 1968, p. 13, 74, Anastasius failed to name any of his three nephews as his successor.

(6) *PLRE* II, *s.v.* *Hypatius* 6 for the chronology of his career; negotiations with the Persians, PROCOPIUS, *Bella*, vol. 1, ed. J. HAURY and G. WIRTH, Leipzig, 1962, I, xi and Zacharias Rhetor, tr. HAMILTON and BROOKS, London, 1899, VIII, 5. Even B. RUBIN is surprised by Hypatius' appointment, *Das Zeitalter Iustinians*. Band I, Berlin, 1960, pp. 260-261.

The first concerns his christology — was Hypatius a supporter of the Council of Chalcedon, like his brother Pompey, or was he an opponent, like his uncle Anastasius and his cousin Probus (7)? Here *PLRE* II has perhaps simplified matters unduly: it states merely that he was a Chalcedonian, citing passages in Theophanes and Cyril of Scythopolis (8). A cursory glance at these passages would appear to provide persuasive evidence to support the *PLRE*, yet there are grounds for examining the passages more closely. For it would seem strange for someone not in communion with Severus — *μὴ κοινωνῶν τῷ Σεβήρῳ τὸ σύνολον*, according to Theophanes — to have had a hymn written to him by that selfsame Severus, and to have been described by him as “the guardian and protector of the Church” (9).

It would thus seem appropriate to take a closer look at the statements of Cyril and Theophanes, the latter of whom at any rate appears unequivocal in his assertion that Hypatius was not in communion with Severus. Cyril’s account is more detailed, however, and it emerges from there that it was Hypatius himself who stated that he had not been

(7) On the family of Anastasius, see Alan CAMERON, *The House of Anastasius*, in *GRBS*, 19 (1978), pp. 259-276. On the allegiance of Probus and Pompey, cf. *PLRE* II, s.v. *Probus* 8 and *Pompeius* 2. On Probus’ relationship to Hypatius and Pompey, cf. CAMERON, *art. cit.*, pp. 261-262 and the stemma on p. 274, also STEIN, II, p. 216 and n. 3, who both regard the three as brothers, being the sons of Secundinus; *PLRE* II, stemma 9, makes Probus the son of Paul, and hence the cousin, rather than the brother, of Hypatius and Pompey. Most recently, see CHAUVOT, *Panegyriques de l’empereur Anastase I^{er}*, pp. 178-180, who argues that both Pompey and Probus were the sons of Secundinus, and thus the cousins of Hypatius; R. W. B. SALWAY on the other hand, *What’s in a name? A survey of Roman onomastic practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700*, in *JRS*, 84 (1994), p. 143, cf. the stemma on p. 142 and n. 118, prefers Cameron’s position on the relationship of the three. This is the line which will be accepted in this article, which does not aim to resolve the matter in any case.

(8) THEOPHANES, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1883-1885, pp. 158-159, A.M. 6005; CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *V. Sabae*, 56, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Leipzig, 1939, pp. 148-152. STEIN, II, p. 216, also contents himself with describing Pompey and Hypatius as Chalcedonians.

(9) THEOPH., A.M. 6005, p. 159 for the quotation, cp. *V. Sabae*, 56 (ed. SCHWARTZ, p. 151). Severus’ hymn to Hypatius, in E. W. BROOKS, *The Hymns of Severus*, in *PO*, 7 (1911), p. 661 [249], 198-1-VII, written for Hypatius *στρατηλάτης* when the two were going to meet at Aegae on 25 July 517. Severus’ description of Hypatius comes from E. W. BROOKS, *Select Letters of Severus of Antioch*, London, 1903, vol. 2, part 1 (translation), letter I, 40 (from 515/8). *Select Letters*, I, 45 also implies Hypatius’ support for the anti-Chalcedonian camp, in that in the letter it emerges that his patrician “lieutenant” had authorised the brigand-chaser Conon to lend his support to the “orthodox” i.e. anti-Chalcedonians.

in communion with Severus. Moreover his statement came within a notably charged context : Hypatius arrived in Jerusalem in September 516 in the midst of a determined attempt by his uncle to impose an anti-Chalcedonian ⁽¹⁰⁾ patriarch on the city. Having ousted the previous patriarch Elias, he had had installed a certain John, who had promised to accept communion with Severus, but promptly changed his mind upon receiving the office. Anastasius therefore instructed the new *dux*, also called Anastasius, to force John to accept Severus, and he was therefore thrown into prison. A ruse was at this point suggested to John, by which he agreed to accept communion with Severus, but on a fixed day. On this day, however, a massive gathering of pro-Chalcedonian monks was organised, who assembled at the tomb of the martyr Stephen ; it was at this point that Hypatius arrived, having come to Jerusalem, according to Cyril, in order to fulfil a vow following his captivity in Thrace. The *dux* believed that John would fulfil his part of the bargain, but when John mounted the pulpit flanked by the staunchly Chalcedonian Sabas and Theodosius, he proceeded to anathematise Severus along with numerous other adherents of the anti-Chalcedonian camp. Anastasius the *dux* took to flight at this point, while Hypatius — upon whom attention must have been focused throughout this episode — swore to the assembled throng that he was in communion with them, and not with Severus. He backed his words up with lavish donations to various monastic communities in the area ; his uncle never succeeded in ousting John from his seat ⁽¹¹⁾.

Thus it is clear that the allegiance of Hypatius was far from straightforward ; it remains to be determined whether he deserted the waning anti-Chalcedonian cause at one point, or kept his options open for some time. The careers of some of his contemporaries, to be examined shortly, will shed further light on this matter.

The third aspect of Hypatius' career which prompts investigation is his relations with the rebel Vitalian. This would again at first appear

(10) The term anti-Chalcedonian will be used throughout in preference to the less satisfactory term "Monophysite" cf. e.g. *The Christian Centuries*, vol. 1, J. DANIELOU and H. MARROU, tr. V. CRONIN, London, 1964, p. 362 on these terms ; the council of Chalcedon of 451 was by far the most important issue dividing the Christians of the East at this time.

(11) *V. Sabae*, 56, ed. SCHWARTZ, pp. 148-152 for the details ; as Peeters notes, p. 44, Hypatius would scarcely have needed to insist upon his orthodoxy if he had supported the Council all along.

to be unproblematic : Zacharias *Rhetor* twice emphasises the enmity between the two men, which arose from Hypatius' ill-treatment of Vitalian's wife in his youth, according to the church historian. Their antipathy towards one another has generally been acknowledged — *PLRE* II notes that Hypatius' period out of office between 518 and 520 coincides with the point at which Vitalian's influence was at its peak — yet it has been skilfully argued that the two were in league in order that Vitalian might effectively rule the empire through his agent, Hypatius ⁽¹²⁾. Such an ingenious theory, despite the lack of ancient evidence to support it, requires investigation, particularly since it appears to have been largely ignored by subsequent writers ⁽¹³⁾.

II

Before attempting to build up a coherent picture of Hypatius' life, we shall now widen our sights and consider the careers of other men prominent under Anastasius and Justin : how well defined were their christological positions ? Their relationship to Hypatius also requires examination, in order to determine whether Vitalian may be reckoned to have indeed established control over him, or whether he is more associated with any other figure.

The list provided by Procopius at *Wars* I, viii, 1-5 of the commanders who took part in Anastasius' war against Kavadh from 503 contains the names of almost all the important military figures of Anastasius' court : the four chief commanders were the *magister officiorum* Celer, the two *magistri militum praesentales* Patricius and Hypatius, as well as the *magister militum per Orientem* Areobindus. In addition there also took part in the campaign the future Emperor Justin, and Vitalian with his father Patriciolus ; the Lazic commander Pharesmanes should also be mentioned, as too should the financial manager of the campaign, Apion. With the aid of the indispensable *PLRE* II the careers of these

(12) Argued by P. PEETERS first in *Jacques de Saroug : appartient-il à la secte Monophysite ?*, in *AB*, 66 (1948), pp. 169, 173, 182, then in more detail in *Hypatius et Vitalien*. Zachariah VII, 3 and VIII, 2 on the hatred between the two.

(13) It is mentioned only in the footnotes of CAPIZZI, p. 41 n. 48, and by Festugière in his translation of Cyril, *Les moines d'Orient III — les moines de Palestine*. *Cyrille de Scythopolis*, tr. A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, Paris, 1962, vol. 2, p. 81 n. 167. It is not referred to in the *PLRE* or in CAMERON, *House of Anastasius*.

may be analysed, as well as those of Anastasius' two other nephews, Pompey and Probus.

Perhaps the most striking point about these commanders is how they remain the central figures at the imperial court right up until the late 520's. The general with whom Hypatius operated for the brief period he took part in the war was Patricius, a native of Phrygia. The two had been associated even before the war, having held the consulship together in 500. During the war the two failed to come to the aid of Areobindus, despite his requests, and were later heavily defeated by Kavadh in summer 503. Hypatius was consequently recalled, though Patricius went on to enjoy some success in his efforts against the Persians. Now of all the generals mentioned above, Patricius appears to be among those who most concerned himself with religious affairs: between 508 and 511 discussions were held at his house in Constantinople between Severus and bishop John of Claudiopolis. In 511 he was handed a letter concerning the alleged Nestorianism of the patriarch of Constantinople, Macedonius, and he subsequently attended the discussion of this affair in the *silentium*. Rioting pro-Chalcedonian crowds in the following year were sufficiently persuaded of his links with Severus to react violently against his attempts at mediation; the *magister officiorum* Celer received a similar reception⁽¹⁴⁾.

Patricius had once been a benefactor of Vitalian, and was consequently employed by Anastasius as an emissary to the rebel when he first marched on Constantinople in 513 or 514; he even refused to help defend against Vitalian's final attack on the city in 515 because of the suspicion that might arise should Vitalian win. Upon the death of Anastasius Patricius seems to have been the only serious challenger to Justin for the throne; the *scholares* put him forward as a candidate, but he was rejected by Justin's *excubitores*, and had to be rescued by Justinian. Yet it appears that he was soon employed by the new

(14) For the details of Patricius' career, cf. *PLRE* II, s.v. *Fl. Patricius* 14; discussions at his house, Severus, *Select Letters*, I, 1 — *PLRE* states that Severus' collocutor was Asterius, though it is clear that talks were also held with John; Patricius' participation in the discussions about Macedonius, Zachariah, VII, 8. He and Celer also interrogated Macedonius at one point, cf. JOHN OF BEITH-APHTHONIA, *Vita Severi*, ed. and tr. M. KUGENER, *PO*, 2 (1907), p. 237. For their failure to pacify the rioters, cf. MARCELLINUS, *comes*, a. 512, ed. T. MOMMSEN in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, XI, Berlin, 1894; the riot was sparked off by anti-Chalcedonian attempts to introduce the words "crucified for us" into the *Trishagion*. Patricius from Phrygia — PROCOPIUS, *Wars*, I, viii, 2.

régime, and even embraced its pro-Chalcedonian standpoint: he is found in November 519 in Edessa, where he exiled the bishop Paul, who had refused to accept the Council of Chalcedon, and was urged in a letter from pope Hormisdas to assist in the repair of the Acacian schism (15).

From this account of Patricius' career, it emerges that his doctrinal loyalties were not inflexible: under Anastasius he co-operated with the anti-Chalcedonian line of the Emperor, although he also had links with the Chalcedonian rebel Vitalian. This flexibility may have made him a potential successor to Anastasius, and at any rate ensured that he was able to play a role in the new administration.

Celer's career bears a considerable similarity to that of Patricius, and the two are often associated. Just as Patricius held the post of *magister militum praesentalis* for the eighteen years from 500 to the death of Anastasius, so Celer kept his post as *magister officiorum* for almost the same period (503-518). He was the commander-in-chief of the Roman army in the Persian war, and once he reached the East the fortunes of the Romans improved considerably. With Patricius he was involved in Anastasius' manoeuvres against the patriarch Macedonius, and even saw to Severus' safe return to Syria after his time in Constantinople. But, as with Patricius, it is impossible to regard him as an inflexible opponent of Chalcedon: for Severus, when he was patriarch of Antioch (512-518), received a letter from him con-

(15) Vitalian's revolt, STEIN, II, p. 180 (513), and E. BROOKS in *CMH*, I, p. 485 and n. 2 for this dating, and note the corrections of Brooks in CHAUVOT, *Panegyriques de l'empereur Anastase I^{er}*, pp. 106-107. M. MAAS, *John Lydus and the Roman Past: Antiquarianism and politics in the age of Justinian*, London-New York, 1992, p. 109 also puts Vitalian's revolt in 513; but P. CHARANIS, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire* (2nd ed.), Thessaloniki, 1974, p. 81, puts it in 514, following John of Antioch (frg. 214e in *FHG*, V) and Marcellinus a.514. W. FRENZ, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge, 1972, p. 221 and n. 1 leaves the dating unresolved. See now B. CROKE, *The Chronicle of Marcellinus*, Sydney, 1995, p. 117, in favour of the later date.

On Patricius' candidacy for the purple, *de Caerimoniis*, I, 93; VASILIEV, pp. 70-71, reads the text as merely referring to a patrician who was *στρατηλάτης* rather than Patricius himself, but the identification (accepted by *PLRE*) is convincing. His presence in Edessa in 519, *Chronicon Edessenum*, 88 in *Untersuchungen über die Edessensische Chronik*, ed. and tr. L. HALLIER, Leipzig, 1892. The letter from Hormisdas (January 519), *Collectio Avellana: epistulae imperatorum, pontificum, aliorum*, A.D. 367-553, ed. O. GUNTHER, *CSEL*, XXXV, 1895-1898, ep. 152 (not mentioned in *PLRE* under Patricius).

cerning the reinstatement of various Chalcedonian bishops, whom he had deposed at some stage previously. He too might have been a candidate for the throne in 518, but was ill with gout, and contented himself with ensuring a smooth transition of power (16).

Under Justin, Celer played a part in ending the rift between the papacy and Constantinople: the pope's letter to him and Patricius has already been mentioned, and a letter of Celer to Hormisdas also survives, dated to July 520. So here again it appears that a prominent politician maintained a fairly flexible attitude to the dogmatic disputes of the day. It seems likely that both Patricius and Celer were supporters of Chalcedon, but of a pragmatic kind: although they helped to oust Macedonius, they may have felt that he was too much of an extremist, and a menace to civil order in the capital. This would also account for Celer's request concerning the reinstatement of the bishops of Syria II, and his later contact with the papacy (17).

Not all the high-ranking figures listed above took the line of Patricius and Celer; others can more easily be regarded as pro- or anti-Chalcedonian, and their careers seem to have fluctuated more as a consequence. Among them is Areobindus, whose conduct in the Persian war receives very divergent treatment in the ancient sources: he is heavily condemned by John Lydus, yet emerges as a successful general in Theophanes and Joshua the Stylite. It would appear that Anastasius was satisfied with his performance, since he held the consulship in 506, although there is no record of him holding any further offices following this. The hostility of Patricius and Hypatius towards him may have owed something to his distinguished ancestry, as he was the son-in-law of the Western Emperor Olybrius through his wife Anicia Juliana, and the great grandson of Fl. Ardaburius Aspar. His influential position thus owed little to Anastasius, and he could afford an independent stance regarding Chalcedon; his wife, Anicia Juliana, was a staunch supporter of the Council, and came under pressure from Anastasius

(16) For references to his command in the Persian war, cf. *PLRE* II, s.v. *Celer* 2. Cf. the *PLRE* also for references to the conspiring against Macedonius, reported in Theophanes pp. 157-158, A.M. 6004, Theodore Lector, 487, 490-1. One letter of Severus to him survives, regarding the council at Heraclea in 515 (which never took place), *SEV., Select Letters*, I, 21; Celer's request to re-instate the Chalcedonian bishops (backed by the Emperor) is alluded to in letter I, 24. On Celer's role in the selection of Anastasius' successor, see STEIN, II, p. 219 from CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *de Caerimoniis*, I, 93 — *PLRE* II does not mention his illness.

(17) Hormisdas' letter to Celer, *Coll. Avell.*, ep. 152; Celer's letter, ep. 197.

and the patriarch of Constantinople, Timotheus, though with little effect. Doubtless as a consequence of this unswerving allegiance to Chalcedon, the rioters in 512 called on Areobindus to become the new Emperor; but he fled his house before they arrived. He died before Anastasius, however, though his wife survived to witness the reconciliation with Rome and corresponded with Hormisdas herself (18).

The careers of the other contemporaries of Hypatius can be dealt with more rapidly: the case of Apion is interesting, in that while his anti-Chalcedonian credentials are not open to doubt, he nonetheless subsequently adapted himself to the changed circumstances under Justin by accepting the Council. His relations with Anastasius do not appear always to have been cordial: he was replaced as praetorian prefect to the Roman army fighting the Persians, according to Theophanes, for jeopardising the campaign through his collusion with Hypatius against Areobindus, though this is not altogether credible (19). His continued adherence to the anti-Chalcedonian camp is attested by Severus' dedication of a treatise to him between 508 and 510, but in 510 he was forced to become a priest at Nicaea and sent into exile; the cause of his fall from favour is not known. He was recalled from exile by Justin, and became praetorian prefect of the East in 518; he was also persuaded by Justin and Justinian to accept Chalcedon, and his son Strategius even presided over negotiations held in Constantinople in 532 between the supporters and opponents of the Council (20). Thus a complete *volte face* was possible, though there is no evidence of any other such drastic conversion.

(18) For the details of Areobindus' career and ancestry, cf. *PLRE II*, s.v. *Ariobindus* 1. THEOPH., A.M. 5997-5998, pp. 145-148, for his part in the Persian war, also *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. and tr. W. WRIGHT, Cambridge, 1882, ch. 54 and elsewhere; JOHN LYDUS, *de magistratibus*, ed. R. WUNSCH, Leipzig, 1903, III, 53 for the unfavourable version. On his wife, *PLRE II*, s.v. *Anicia Iuliana* 3; Anastasius' attempts to put a stop to her support for Chalcedon are reported in THEOPH., A.M. 6005, p. 158 (THEODORE LECTOR, 504), where her help for the deposed Macedonius is also noted. On the riot of 512, see Marcellinus a.512 and the other sources mentioned in the *PLRE*. Juliana's correspondence with the pope — *Coll. Avell.*, epp. 164, 179, 198.

(19) THEOPH., A.M. 5998, p. 148, on this; but THEOPH., A.M. 5997, p. 146, states that Apion persuaded Areobindus not to leave the front because of his annoyance with his colleagues, which implies that he was on good terms with him, cf. K. HOFMANN, *Zur Kritik der byzantinischen Quellen für die Römerkriege Kobad's I*, Schweinfurt, 1877, p. 13 and E. MERTEN, *De bello Persico ab Anastasio gesto*, in *Commentationes Philologicae Ienenses*, VII, 2, Leipzig, 1906, p. 177.

(20) *PLRE II*, s.v. *Fl. Apion* 2 for his career; MARCELLINUS, a. 510 on his exile, also JOHN LYDUS, III, 17. His ordination is reported by THEOPH., A.M. 6011 and

Anastasius' efficient but unpopular praetorian prefect Marinus was also an opponent of Chalcedon, and is even reported to have taken part in a disturbance in St. Sophia after Justin's accession. The Chalcedonian rioters burned down his house in 512, and yet despite this he was briefly re-appointed praetorian prefect under Justin late in 519. It may be supposed that he maintained his opposition to Chalcedon. The only other high-ranking person of whom the same may be said is the youngest nephew of Anastasius, Probus⁽²¹⁾. It was he who introduced Severus to the Emperor around 508, but other than holding the consulship in 502 he is not known to have held any major offices under his uncle. It is clear that he maintained his opposition to Chalcedon, for he received a letter from Severus during the exile of the deposed patriarch. He nevertheless held a military command — Severus describes him as *στρατηλάτης* — and was sent by Justin to enlist the support of Hunnic tribes around the Black Sea in fending off the Persians from Iberia ; he failed to bring any help to the Iberians, but encouraged the work of missionaries among the tribes he encountered⁽²²⁾. He was exiled following the Nika riots and the execution of his cousins, but was recalled after a year, and was able to provide accommodation for John of Ephesus in Constantinople from 540 to 542. Thus he was able to maintain his opposition to Chalcedon all along, and was still entrusted with an embassy to the Huns by Justin ; indeed the Emperor may deliberately have picked an anti-Chalcedonian for the mission. His career was hardly very distinguished, however, though this cannot necessarily be ascribed to his doctrinal views.

One nephew of Anastasius remains to be considered — Pompey. Just as there is no doubt as to his younger brother Probus' firmly anti-Chalcedonian sympathies, so there is no question that Pompey was a supporter of the Council. Although Anastasius put considerable

THEODORE LECTOR, 482. See *PLRE* II, s.v. *Fl. Strategius* 9 for the career of his son, who stated in 533 that his father had been convinced by Justin and Justinian to accept Chalcedon, cf. *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, IV.ii, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Strasbourg, 1913, p. 170.

(21) On the relationship of Probus to Anastasius, Hypatius and Pompey, q.v. n. 7.

(22) SEVERUS, *Select Letters*, ed. and tr. E. W. BROOKS in *PO*, 14 (1920), no. 79 p. [294]. Justin sent him out c. 526 (cf. *PROC.*, *Wars*, I, xii, 6-9) following the appeal of king Gurgenes ; the missionaries were presumably anti-Chalcedonian, for Justin and his nephew were willing to use the service of anti-Chalcedonians to strengthen Roman interests in border areas, as in Southern Arabia, where Byzantium's ally Elesbaas was an opponent of Chalcedon, cf. VASILIEV, pp. 250-252.

pressure on him, he assisted Anicia Juliana in bringing aid to the exiled patriarch Macedonius ; his own wife, Anastasia, was also a Chalcedonian and they both corresponded with pope Hormisdas. Pompey was among the dignitaries who met the papal envoys on their approach to the capital in 519. His uncle did not utterly deprive him of important posts : he held the consulship in 501, and at some stage a military command in the Balkans, though with no more success than his elder brother. Justinian also gave him command of some reinforcements for the Eastern frontier towards the end of 528, though he does not seem to have played any part in the war against the Persians ⁽²³⁾.

Two difficulties for this interpretation of the doctrinal allegiance of Pompey and Probus, which might be taken to indicate that they were regarded as having held views diametrically opposed to what has been argued above, have so far gone unmentioned. On the one hand, Pompey's house was burned down in the rioting of the pro-Chalcedonian crowds in November 512, along with that of Marinus and the urban prefect Plato ; and on the other hand, Probus' name can be found alongside those of Vitalian, Hypatius and Patricius in the acclamations of the synod of Tyre held in September 518 ⁽²⁴⁾.

First, the destruction of Pompey's house. It is unlikely that the populace of Constantinople were unaware of his support for the Council, since he had never swerved in his loyalty, and had often met with St. Sabas during his visit to the capital around this time. Assuming therefore that Marcellinus' information is accurate, the most plausible solution is that the crowds burned his house in disappointment that he was not at home to receive their acclamation as Emperor : we know that they had first called upon Areobindus to take the throne, but he had deliberately left home to avoid such an eventuality. In a similar incident in 532 the crowd made for the house of Probus, proclaiming

(23) For the references on Pompey's career, cf. *PLRE* II, s.v. *Pompeius* 2, and *Anastasia* 3 for his wife. His letter to the pope is ep. 163 in the *Coll. Avell.*, and the reply of the pope ep. 174. Jordanes mentions his defeat in the Balkans, *Romana*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, V, Berlin, 1882, 356. *PLRE* II, following STEIN, II, p. 102 and n. 2, suggests c. 517 as the date for Pompey's defeat, though Cameron has argued for c. 503, cf. *The date of Priscian's 'de laude Anastasii'*, in *GRBS*, 15 (1974), p. 314.

(24) MARCELLINUS, a. 512 is the only one to report the burning of Pompey's house ; for the acclamation of Probus, cf. *PLRE* 2, s.v. *Probus* 8 and *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, III - *Collectio Sabbaitica*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Berlin, 1940, no. 34, pp. 102 and 103.

him Emperor in Justinian's stead, and burnt down his house when it emerged that he was not at home. So it would seem that Constantinopolitan crowds were not averse to setting fire to the house of someone they had just called upon to seize the throne, and it is suggested that Pompey suffered a similar fate to that of his cousin twenty years later. It might be countered that Pompey was scarcely an obvious candidate to succeed his own uncle, but the inhabitants of the capital were doubtless aware of the poor relations between the two. Moreover, after Areobindus' refusal, there were few obvious supporters of Chalcedon to be found, since Celer and Patricius were clearly regarded as being the henchmen of the Emperor; men such as Justin and Vitalian were too obscure at this point to be proclaimed by the crowd, whereas Pompey was of imperial blood (25).

Second, and more difficult to resolve, is the acclamation of Probus at Tyre. Two alternatives may be proposed, neither of which is altogether satisfactory. One is that those gathering at Tyre were not well acquainted with the stance of all the various dignitaries in the capital; clearly they would have been aware of Vitalian's revolt against Anastasius, and Hypatius' insistence that he was not in communion with Severus in 516 explains why he is found among those acclaimed. The mention of Patricius is almost as puzzling as that of Probus, given his attachment to Anastasius' régime; it is possible that those gathered at the synod were aware that he was still in favour, just as they had heard of the death of Amantius. The first option then is that they somehow confused him with his cousin Pompey: since there is no evidence that either of them had visited the East before this point, this is not impossible. But the problem with Probus remains that he was hardly sufficiently prominent even in the capital that one would expect to find him in such a list, quite apart from his allegiance to the anti-Chalcedonian camp. So the second alternative is that the Probus acclaimed at Tyre is not in fact Anastasius' nephew, but his great-nephew, a certain Fl. Anastasius Paulus Probus Moschianus Probus Magnus. While he ranks as a figure yet more obscure than Probus, he was the sole consul of 518, and it is worthy of note that

(25) Visits of Sabas — CYRIL, *V. Sabae*, 53-54, ed. SCHWARTZ, pp. 145-147; the burning of Probus' house in 532 — *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. DINDORF, Bonn, 1832, p. 622. It has been suggested to me that Pompey's house may have been burnt down accidentally, although such an explanation is not required.

the synod also acclaimed the consuls, the *magister* and the Senate. On balance, however, the first alternative appears the more probable, given the mention of Probus and Hypatius together ⁽²⁶⁾.

The final career to be examined in this section is that of Vitalian, usually held to be Hypatius' bitterest foe, but considered by Peeters to be his effective overlord. His rebellion in Thrace is well attested in the ancient sources, and overshadowed all Anastasius' final years, even following his defeat in 515 ⁽²⁷⁾. It is unclear whether Hypatius, the nephew of Anastasius was the general whose unpopularity helped give rise to the revolt in the Balkans: a good case has been advanced that the Hypatius referred to by Malalas, John of Antioch and Theophanes in this context is another general, since it is not specified that he was the Emperor's nephew. It would also seem extremely odd that Anastasius would re-appoint his nephew to command troops who had shortly previously rebelled on account of his leadership. The one difficulty with this view is that there is no record of any other *magister militum* Hypatius in this period ⁽²⁸⁾.

Vitalian's revolt had a strong Chalcedonian flavour, as emerges from his contacts with pope Hormisdas, and enjoyed the firm backing of the local population. He declared his support for the Council when he advanced on the capital for the first time in 513 or 514; it was on this occasion that Patricius was sent to negotiate with him, but Anastasius promptly ignored the pledges he had made and sent out

(26) VASILIEV, pp.149-158 gives a detailed description of the course of events at the synod, and notes its awareness that Amantius had been executed (p. 158), cf. *ACO*, III, nos. 32-33. Schwartz's edition of the *ACO*, p.103 (the synod in Syria Secunda), prints *πατρικίος* rather than *Πατρικίος*, though *PLRE* (rightly) accepts that Patricius is here referred to. On Fl. Anastasius Paulus Probus Moschianus Probus Magnus 5, cf. *PLRE* II, p. 701.

(27) Cf. *PLRE* II, s.v. *Vitalianus* 2 for Vitalian's career, and q.v. n. 14 on the debate as to in what year his revolt broke out. JORDANES, *Romana*, 357, on the impact of the revolt until the end of Anastasius' reign, cp. EVAGRIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. BIDEZ and L. PARMENTIER, London, 1898, IV, 43. PEETERS, *Hypatius et Vitalien*, for his argument regarding co-operation between the two, and pp.25ff. on the ineffectiveness of the Emperor even after his victory in 515, also *V. Sabae*, 58 (p. 158) and FESTUGIÈRE, p. 81 n. 167.

(28) The case is put by CAMERON, *The date of Priscian's 'de laude Anastasii'*, pp. 313-314, previously by BROOKS in *CMH*, I, p.485; the *PLRE* lists a Hypatius 5, but notes that he could be identical with Hypatius 6. The references to this Hypatius in the sources are JOHN OF ANTIOCH, frg. 214e; THEOPH., A.M. 6005 and MALALAS, ed. DINDORF, Bonn, 1831, p. 402. See the appendix below for consideration of another important Hypatius, however, who might be identified with the general in Thrace.

Cyril as *magister militum per Thracias* against him once his army had withdrawn. Cyril was killed in his headquarters at Odessus not long afterwards, so Anastasius responded by sending out his nephew Hypatius and a certain Alathar to crush the revolt; they appear to have enjoyed some success, but were finally heavily defeated by Vitalian and his Hunnic allies (29). Most of the prisoners were left in the hands of the Huns, but Vitalian made sure that he secured control of Anastasius' nephew; the ill-treatment of Hypatius is mentioned by two independent sources, Jordanes and Zachariah, and is thus hardly open to doubt. Hypatius was ransomed late in 514 or early in 515, after Vitalian advanced on Constantinople again to back up his demands; the large ransom extracted by him for the return of his prisoner is also widely attested, and so the theory of Peeters — that he was not merely aiming for financial gain — clearly runs contrary to the ancient evidence. Nevertheless the shift in Hypatius' doctrinal position following his return from captivity does require explanation, and an alternative to Peeters' view will be put forward in the final section (30).

Vitalian also wrung concessions from the Emperor regarding relations with the papacy, and Anastasius entered into correspondence with Hormisdas. Once his army had retreated, however, Anastasius once again refused to comply with what he had agreed, and a proposed

(29) On the course of the war, see CHARANIS, pp. 82-84; PEETERS, *Jacques de Saroug*, pp. 162ff.; BROOKS, *CMH*, I, p. 485 and n. 2; STEIN, II, pp. 180-185; CAPIZZI, pp. 123-127. The most detailed ancient account of the war is provided by JOHN OF ANTIOCH, frg. 214e in *FHG*, V, though EVAGRIUS' (IV, 43) is also of interest. PEETERS stresses Vitalian's connections with the papacy from an early date, *Hypatius et Vitalien*, p. 48, citing a *libellus* of Hormisdas before 516 in *Coll. Avell.*, Appendix IV, 800-1. On the local support for Vitalian, cf. THEODORE LECTOR, 521; THEOPH., A.M. 6008, pp. 161-162, on the withdrawal of forty bishops from communion with their archbishop Dorotheus in 515 and turning instead to the pope; also FREND, p. 231, on this.

(30) JORDANES, *Romana*, 358 and ZACH., VII, 13 for the ill-treatment of Hypatius. On the ransom — 1100 lbs. of gold — cf. JOHN OF ANTIOCH, frg. 214e; MARCELLINUS, a. 515; also STEIN, II, p. 181 and n. 1 on the total sum extracted by Vitalian from the imperial government. For the date of the ransoming, cf. STEIN, II, p. 180 and p. 185; PEETERS, *Hypatius et Vitalien*, p. 38, puts it in late 516 or 517, but it is known that he was in Jerusalem in September 516, so he must have been freed by then. Peeters' late dating stems from Cyril's statement that Hypatius had come from his captivity to Jerusalem, and is unwilling to interpose a two year gap, *Hypatius et Vitalien*, p. 22; yet the sources are unanimous concerning his release in late 514 or early 515, which ties in well with Anastasius' correspondence with Hormisdas, and FESTUGIÈRE sees no problem with this dating, n. 166 p. 80. PEETERS' view that Vitalian was not seeking financial gain in the ransoming, *Hypatius et Vitalien*, p. 49.

council never took place. Vitalian responded by marching on the capital for the third time, but was on this occasion decisively defeated by the Emperor's forces in a naval engagement. This battle will be discussed below, on the grounds that it played an important role in bringing Justin to the throne three years later. The strength of Vitalian's power following the battle should not be underestimated, and between 515 and 518 Anastasius accomplished little for the anti-Chalcedonian cause ; several factors combined to impede whatever efforts he made, among which was a wide-ranging raid of Sabir Huns in 515. The massacre of Chalcedonian monks at Larissa near Apamea, blamed on Severus' henchman Peter, did nothing to advance the cause of the anti-Chalcedonians, and was even brought to the attention of the pope. Further evidence of the weakness of Anastasius' position lies in his failure to remove the bishops Severian of Arethusae and Cosmas of Epiphania, who had in turn attempted to depose Severus ; when the commander sent to enforce their removal met with determined opposition from the populace, Anastasius declined to pursue the operation in order to avoid bloodshed. Similarly he failed to remove the Chalcedonian patriarch of Jerusalem, John, from office, although these failures need by no means be seen to imply that Anastasius had become almost pro-Chalcedonian by the time of his death ⁽³¹⁾.

Soon after Justin came to the throne in July 518, Vitalian was received in the capital and accorded numerous honours ; but only two years later he was murdered during his consulship. Responsibility for the murder is usually attributed to Justinian, who became *magister militum praesentalis* following the death of Vitalian ⁽³²⁾. It is interesting that it was Anastasius' most persistent enemy, rather than any of the late Emperor's relatives, who was eliminated by the new régime, despite its rejection of the previous Emperor's doctrinal position. In order to understand this action of Justin's government, and indeed to appreciate

(31) PEETERS, *Hypatius et Vitalien*, pp. 25-35, on the weakness of Anastasius' position, cf. *V. Sabae*, 58, p. 158, 4. CHARANIS, p. 25, makes the suggestion that the Emperor had almost become a Chalcedonian by the end of his reign. P. T. R. GRAY, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East*, Leiden, 1979, pp. 38-40, considers Anastasius to have become more anti-Chalcedonian as his reign progressed, on the other hand. He at any rate became more pragmatic and circumspect about enforcing anti-Chalcedonian doctrines, as is evidenced by his letter to the pope, *Coll. Avell.*, ep. 152, closing with John 14, 27 : "My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave with you" cf. FRENCH, p. 232 ; CHARANIS, p. 92 ; GRAY, pp. 40-42.

(32) VASILIEV, p. 113 and *PLRE* II, s.v. *Iustinianus* 7 ; *PLRE*'s entry on Vitalian supplies the references to the opinions of the ancient writers on the murder.

how Justin succeeded in securing the throne, the defeat of Vitalian in 515 must come under scrutiny⁽³³⁾.

Two traditions concerning this defeat survive, which, while not contradicting one another, offer very different perspectives of the battle. On the one hand, there is the version of Malalas and the later chroniclers, according to which the chief architect of the victory was Anastasius' faithful former praetorian prefect Marinus, who won the day through his use of Greek fire against Vitalian's fleet. On the other hand, there is the detailed account of John of Antioch, who does not mention Greek fire or Marinus; he does, however, note the important role of Justin in the battle, who, as *comes excubitorum*, helped to bring about the rout of Vitalian's fleet⁽³⁴⁾. The role of Marinus and the Greek fire need not be rejected in order to assign Justin a significant role in the victory of the imperial forces.

Only three years separate this victory from the death of Anastasius, and it seems highly probable that this accomplishment was a factor in Justin's successful candidature for the throne; nevertheless it has been all but passed over in modern works⁽³⁵⁾. Although the ancient writers regarded it as surprising that Justin succeeded Anastasius, on account of the existence of many distinguished relatives of the former Emperor, in fact only one of them — Hypatius — could realistically have aspired to the throne⁽³⁶⁾. The relative obscurity of Anastasius' two other nephews has already been noted, as well as Probus' anti-Chalcedonian position. From the reaction of the Constantinopolitan crowd to Justin's accession, it is doubtful whether they would have brooked another anti-Chalcedonian Emperor; and Justin, unlike Celer or Patricius, was not so implicated in the policies of Anastasius, even if they were supporters of the Council⁽³⁷⁾.

(33) CHARANIS, pp. 92-93 and FRENCH, p. 233 put Vitalian's defeat in 516, but *PLRE* puts it in 515 (*s.v.* *Vitalianus* 2), as does STEIN, II, p. 184, and this dating is supported by JOHN OF ANTIOCH, frg. 214e.

(34) MALALAS, *Chronographia*, pp. 403-405; see *PLRE* on Vitalian for references to the later chroniclers. JOHN OF ANTIOCH, frg. 214e for his version.

(35) There is no mention of it in Vasiliev's work, nor does STEIN, II mention Justin's presence in the battle; *PLRE* mentions Justin's role in its entry under Iustinus 4, but not under Vitalian.

(36) PROCOPIUS, *Wars*, I, xi, 1; EVAGRIUS, IV, 1 for the unexpectedness of Justin's election; cf. VASILIEV, p. 74.

(37) VASILIEV, pp. 136-144 on the meetings on 15-16 July and the opinions of the crowd, based on *ACO*, III, no. 27.

It is thus clear that an opponent of Chalcedon was not likely to be elected in 518, given the mood in the capital. Nevertheless the eunuch *praepositus sacri cubiculi* Amantius, a determined anti-Chalcedonian, attempted to secure the elevation of his *domesticus* Theocritus, and gave money to Justin in order to enlist the support of the *excubitores*. Justin used the money to gain support for himself, however, and Amantius and Theocritus were killed within days of Justin's election. It may be supposed that Amantius was not acting inordinately foolishly in relying on Justin to carry out his request, for Justin had not (unlike Patricius) refused to fight against Vitalian. But Justin realised that the way to the throne was open to him: he was unquestionably the most senior candidate of the Chalcedonian camp in the capital who was not tainted by lengthy service in Anastasius' régime. His role in the defeat of Vitalian may also have been an advantage, since the rebel must have inflicted considerable damage on the capital during his assaults and advances on the city; indeed Theophanes reports that he was killed on account of popular anger at the deaths he had caused in Anastasius' reign (38).

III

It remains to give an account of Hypatius' career, and to explain how he changed his position regarding the Council, as well as how he succeeded in maintaining his successful career under Justin, when one eminent supporter of the Council of Chalcedon at any rate met his death.

There is no evidence that Hypatius did not share his uncle's convictions concerning Chalcedon until his visit to Jerusalem. His mother, Caesaria, the sister of Anastasius, may well have been a regular correspondent of Severus, though nothing is known of the views of his wife, Maria. It must nonetheless be conceded that the lack of evidence prior to the events at Jerusalem need not be interpreted this way: his brother Pompey, as has been seen, was certainly a supporter of the Council, and Peeters' argument that Anastasius would not have

(38) THEOPH., A.M. 6012, p.168, though VASILIEV, p. 113, regards this as a later cover-up by Justin and Justinian; but there may still be truth in the account, even if it was the Emperor who ordered his assassination. On Amantius' plot, cf. MARCELLINUS, a.518; MALALAS, pp. 410-411; EVAGRIUS, IV, 2; and VASILIEV, p. 102.

employed his nephew to defend the capital if he was not in doctrinal agreement with him does not carry much weight, particularly when it is borne in mind that he was prepared to entrust Justin with troops in 515 ⁽³⁹⁾.

The reaction of the monks at Jerusalem and his contacts with Severus in 516 and 517 do, however, imply that he was regarded as having been opposed to the Council, yet his career from 516 strongly points to a shift in attitude. It has already been noted how such a change would hardly have been unique ; another example, at a slightly lower level, is provided by the *comes et praeses Syriae Secundae* Eutychianus, who had been appointed to his post under Anastasius, but received criticism from Severus for his contact with a Chalcedonian bishop, and subsequently conducted the investigation into the behaviour of Severus' ally Peter, bishop of Apamea, early in 519 ⁽⁴⁰⁾. Such a shift is hardly surprising in the face of Anastasius' inability to deal with the Chalcedonian partisans in the empire, even after Vitalian's defeat. There is no difficulty with the gap between his return from captivity and his journey to Jerusalem : Cyril does not expressly state that the one immediately followed the other. Hypatius' failure to visit the city earlier may perhaps be attributed to the continuance of Elias in his office of patriarch ; once Anastasius had decided that he would force him out, Hypatius set out to fulfil his vow. John became the new patriarch in September 516, so the Emperor must have determined to remove his predecessor earlier in the year, at which point Hypatius set off ⁽⁴¹⁾.

Politicians of lesser ability than Hypatius would certainly have been able to see that the tide had already turned against the opponents of Chalcedon, and Hypatius had had the opportunity to appreciate this at first hand. His time in the Balkans can but have persuaded him of the support for the Council there, and in Jerusalem too the spectacle of 10,000 monks rallying to the cause of John must have reinforced this message. Then in 517 he was entrusted with the judge-

(39) PEETERS' argument, *Hypatius et Vitalien*, p. 44 ; Hypatius' mother Caesaria 1 in *PLRE* II is most likely the same as Caesaria 2, a regular correspondent of Severus.

(40) PEETERS, *Hypatius et Vitalien*, p. 47 on Eutychianus, cf. *PLRE* II on Fl. Ioannes Palladius Eutychianus 4 and the references there to *ACO*, III, pp. 93, 102, 103 and 106 on the enquiry at Apamea.

(41) John became patriarch on 1 September 516, *V. Sabae*, 56, ed. SCHWARTZ, p. 150.

ment in a case against Severus, and went to meet the patriarch at Aegae in July that year ; Severus wrote to Hypatius concerning the case in flattering terms, but the outcome is not known. Peeters considers that by this time Hypatius was opposed to Severus, although it is clear that Hypatius' decision did not bring Severus' patriarchate to an end ; if Peeters' view is correct, it is strange that the Emperor entrusted the case of the patriarch to an unfavourable judge. An alternative explanation is that Anastasius perhaps sought to test Hypatius' views by giving him charge of this case. His allegiance to Chalcedon was sufficiently well established soon after Justin's accession that he was entrusted with the task of investigating the case of Sergius, bishop of Cyrrhus, an alleged Nestorian, who was consequently deposed (42).

There is thus no need whatever to suppose that Hypatius had become a partisan of Vitalian, since other politicians were quite able to alter their stance on Chalcedon without being coerced into so doing. And as has been noted above, Hypatius' career was at its lowest ebb when Vitalian's was at its height, between 518 and 520. Finally the question of the revival of Hypatius' fortunes in the 520's must be addressed, and again the key lies in the attitudes to the Council of Chalcedon.

Justin's commitment to the Council was total, and he brought an end to the Acacian schism as swiftly as he could ; he even accepted strict terms from the papacy, which he later regretted. None of his fellow generals from the Persian war of Anastasius could match his loyalty to Chalcedon — save Vitalian, who had taken up arms in the name of the Council. Hence he was Justin's only rival for the loyalty of the pro-Chalcedonians, particularly those in Thrace ; it is therefore unsurprising that he was eliminated as soon as was expedient. The assassination was a success, in that there is no word of dissatisfaction in the Balkans in its wake : Justin had demonstrated sufficiently that he was as much an upholder of Chalcedon as Vitalian was. Men such as Patricius, Probus and Hypatius, on the other hand, could not compete with Justin for the loyalty of supporters of the Council, and consequently were not regarded as a threat (43).

(42) q.v. n. 9 for references concerning Severus' trial ; PEETERS, *Hypatius et Vitalien*, pp. 41-42, for his view. PEETERS, *Jacques de Saroug*, pp. 162 and 173 on his presence at Cyrrhus, put by Peeters in 519 and by *PLRE* in 520.

(43) VASILIEV, p. 109 on the stiff terms agreed to by Justin and his later desire to water them down, cf. FRENCH, pp. 236, 243-244. EVAGRIUS, IV, 3 on Justin's concern about Vitalian's power.

The other factor which helps to explain the continued prominence of Hypatius is the innate conservativeness of Justin's régime, a respect in which it differed entirely from that of his successor. For there is a far greater change in the personnel in the upper échelons of the empire in the first years of Justinian than takes place throughout Justin's reign — perhaps an indication that Justinian had little influence over his uncle's selection of officials. All the major generals at any rate of Justin's reign (with the exception of Justinian) had seen service during the reign of Anastasius, for the most part with Justin himself: apart from Hypatius and Patricius, Diogenianus should also be mentioned, the *magister militum per Orientem* between 518 and 520 probably, recalled from exile, and a veteran of Anastasius' war against the Isaurians. A similar case is that of Philoxenus, also recalled by Justin, who became consul in 525, and who had been a general at some stage in Anastasius' reign. Other examples are furnished by his fellow exile Apion, as well as Pharesmanes, another participant of the Persian war, who was given charge of negotiations with the Persians together with Hypatius at some stage in Justin's reign, probably around 525; Zachariah notes his advanced age at the time, just as he noted how old Patricius was during the Persian war⁽⁴⁴⁾. Yet another case is that of Timostratus, who had also commanded Roman troops in the Persian war, and still occupied an important position on the Eastern frontier at the time of his death in 527⁽⁴⁵⁾.

The commanders appointed by Justinian were in contrast often remarkably young, as Procopius emphasises concerning Belisarius and Sittas, as well as Coutzes and Bouzes; perhaps the only obvious exception is Bessas, who had also taken part in the Persian war under Anastasius, but had to wait until Justinian's reign to receive any senior commands⁽⁴⁶⁾.

The conservatism of Justin's administration is not surprising, considering his age — 66 or 68 — on ascending the throne: his trust

(44) *PLRE II* on Philoxenus 8 and Pharesmanes 3; *ZACH.*, VIII, 5 on his old age during the negotiations. He was also used as an agent against opponents of Chalcedon, expelling Paul bishop of Edessa in July 522, *MICHAEL SYRUS*, tr. J. B. CHABOT, Paris, 1899-1924, IX, 14-15. *ZACH.*, VII, 4 on Patricius' old age during the Persian war.

(45) *PLRE II*, Timostratus and Zachariah, IX, 2 on his death in 527.

(46) *PROCOPIUS*, *Wars*, I, xii, 20 on Sittas and Belisarius, xiii, 5 on Bouzes and Coutzes; *PLRE II*, s.v. *Bessas*, for his career.

was reserved for those with whom he himself had served, the only exception being his relatives (47). Such a conservative outlook is the only plausible explanation for the continued prominence of Hypatius, who could certainly not lay claim to any successes during his periods as *magister militum per Orientem*. The allegation that he helped sabotage the negotiations surrounding the adoption of Khusro by Justin may reflect his ambitions for the throne, as the Emperor's reign drew to a close: a victory in the ensuing war in the East would provide him with the opportunity to emerge as a serious contender for the throne, even if Justinian seemed like the most obvious successor to his uncle (48). After all, if he himself had not managed to inherit the throne from his uncle, there was no reason to suppose that Justinian too might not similarly fail.

Eventually Hypatius was indeed proclaimed Emperor in January 532 in the course of the Nika riots, but his triumph was short-lived. The important difference between these riots and those during Anastasius' reign, such as the one in 512 which had tried to foist the throne on Areobindus, was that doctrinal issues were of minimal relevance in 532. The unpopularity of Justinian had much more to do with his treatment of the circus factions and the actions of some of his ministers than with his Chalcedonian convictions. It was for this reason that the rioters turned to all three nephews of Anastasius as possible contenders for the throne, despite the fact that between them they represented all shades of views on the Council (49).

APPENDIX : ANOTHER HYPATIUS ?

As has already been noted, some scholars have argued that there were two generals called Hypatius operating under the Emperor Anastasius: one of these sparked the revolt in Thrace in 513, while the other, the nephew of

(47) PROCOPIUS, *Anecdota*, ed. J. HAURY, rev. G. WIRTH, Leipzig, 1963, vi, 11 on Justin's old age upon ascending the throne.

(48) The allegation comes in PROC., I, xi, 31, 38-39; the charges were not substantiated, but he was nonetheless removed from office. It is worth noting that his subsequent re-appointment in 527 took place still during Justin's reign, when he was sharing the throne with his nephew. Hence it need not imply Justinian's support for the decision, and it may be significant that he played no part in the war against Kavadh before being relieved of his command for the last time in Spring 529.

(49) The involvement of Hypatius and Pompey is well attested, even if their willingness is open to doubt; the acclamation of Probus has already been noted, q.v. pp. 11-12.

the Emperor, was then sent out to quell it⁽⁵⁰⁾. This brief appendix does not aim to solve this dispute, but rather to introduce a couple of pieces of evidence, omitted in *PLRE*, into the debate.

The first comes from Procopius and concerns a certain Hypatius, described as *οὐκ ἀφανὴ ἄνδρα* (*Anecd.* ix, 35), who was killed by partisans in St. Sophia during the reign of Justin. The incident took place while Justinian was ill, and Justin undertook strong measures against those responsible; these were carried out by the urban prefect Theodotus “Colocynthus” (the Pumpkin), who thereby incurred Justinian’s wrath. Since Theodotus was prefect in 522-523, it is clear that this Hypatius must have been killed around this time; but it remains unclear just why he should have been the target for such an audacious assassination⁽⁵¹⁾.

The second mention of a Hypatius has a certain link with the previous one: it comes in a rather late source, the anonymous *Narratio de aedificatione templi S. Sophiae*, which records the massacre of the populace under Justinian (the Nika riot of January 532). It ascribes the uprising which took place then to the proclamation of the *πατρίκιον καὶ δημάρχον μέρους βενετῶν* Hypatius as Emperor⁽⁵²⁾. No other source on the Nika riot — and many are available — records that Hypatius, the nephew of Anastasius, held any position in the Blue faction. Indeed, it is extremely unlikely that he could have held any such office, if it was in existence this early in any case⁽⁵³⁾. Furthermore, the Nika riot witnessed the uniting of the two factions, which makes the selection of a leader so associated with one side improbable; and still more importantly both Theophanes (A.M. 6024, p. 185) and the *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 625) report that several hundred young armed adherents of the Green faction actually came to give their support to Hypatius in the hippodrome.

It may be suggested therefore that the author of the *Narratio* has confused two men named Hypatius here: he has conflated the nephew of Anastasius with another Hypatius, who was prominent in the Blue faction. Given that the *Narratio* is specifically concerned with the church of St. Sophia, it would seem not improbable that the Hypatius mentioned by Procopius is the one

(50) *Vide supra*, n. 28 and *PLRE* II, s.v. *Hypatius* 5.

(51) Cf. *PLRE* II, s.v. *Theodotus qui et Colocynthus* 11 for his career; *Anecd.*, xi, 36-43 for Justinian’s anger against Theodotus. Even though the station of this Hypatius is not specified by Procopius, one might nonetheless expect to find him recorded in *PLRE* II; he did attract Martindale’s notice in his unpublished B.Phil. thesis, *Public Disorders in the Late Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1960, pp. 84-85.

(52) *Anonymi narratio de aedificatione templi S. Sophiae*, in *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. PREGER, Leipzig, 1901, p. 75, translated in G. DAGRON, *Constantinople Imaginaire*, Paris, 1984, p. 197.

(53) Cf. CAMERON, *Circus Factions*, pp. 20 and 258-260, who considers the office to have originated only late in the sixth century, when it is first attested, cf. also DAGRON, *Constantinople Imaginaire*, pp. 213-214 n. 9.

alluded to by the *Narratio*. Justinian's illness may have spurred on the Greens to take revenge on this leading supporter of the Blue faction, since they had been suffering considerably on account of Justinian's strong support for the Blues.

Even if the linking of these two passages is rejected, it is to be hoped that they will be accorded consideration in future discussions ; and whether or not they be regarded as referring to the same person, a Hypatius 7 (and even perhaps a Hypatius 8) deserves recognition in any revised version of *PLRE II*.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF BREAD IN THE DIET OF MONKS IN THE JUDEAN DESERT

Both literary sources and archeological finds demonstrate that bread served as the main component of the diet of monks in the Judean Desert (1). Chariton, the founder of the laura of Pharan (a monastery of cell-dwellers) in c. 330 A.D., instructed his monks to try to live only on bread, salt, and water (2). Other monks who also were particularly ascetic required one daily ration of the smallest quantity of bread for their subsistence. John Moschus, a Judean Desert monk of the late sixth century (3), relates that several monks from the community of Chariton in Pharan managed to live on a single piece of bread every four days. He also mentions monks who lived only on the ration of holy bread which they received at church every Sabbath and Sunday (4).

Bread was the staple of monks who went into the interior of the desert for the annual period of fasting (mid-January until early April). For example, Sabas, a major figure of sixth-century monasticism, and his disciple, Agapetos, took a sack containing ten loaves of dry bread

(1) The text was originally prepared for my doctoral dissertation. See : Y. HIRSCHFELD, *Monasteries of the Judean Desert in the Byzantine Period : Their History and Internal Organization in the Light of Archeological Research*, Jerusalem, 1987, pp. 227-230, and, more recently, the book based upon it : IDEM., *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, New Haven-London, 1992, pp. 82-86.

(2) *Vita Chariton* 16 ; GARITTE, 28. The life of Chariton was written by an anonymous sixth-century monk from the Judean Desert. The generally accepted edition appears in : G. GARITTE, *La vie prémétaphrastique de S. Chariton*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 21 (1941), pp. 5-46. For a recent English translation with introduction and commentary, see : L. DI SEGNI, *The Life of Chariton*, in : *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, ed. V.L. WIMBUSH (Minneapolis, 1990), pp. 393-421.

(3) On the importance of this source, see : N.H. BAYNES, "The Pratum Spirituale", *OCA*, 13 (1947), pp. 404-414.

(4) MOSCHUS, *Pratum Spirituale*, 41-42 ; M.-P. MIGNE, *PG*, 87, 3, 2896. Written in c. 620 A.D., the generally accepted edition is : JOHANNES MOSCHUS, *Pratum Spirituale*, in : M.-P. MIGNE, *PG*, 87, 3, 2847-3116.

as provisions for their journey (5). The monk Cyriac, who made his permanent home in a remote area of the Tekoa Desert, lived on bread which he kept in his sack (6), which probably came from the Old Laura of Chariton near Tekoa. This laura was the mother monastery of Cyriac before he set out for the interior of the desert and the home of his disciple, John, who visited him occasionally (7).

Bread was also the staple of the diet of monks living in communal monasteries (*coenobia*) and their visitors. According to Cyril of Scythopolis, author of the *Life of Euthymius*, a group of 400 Armenian pilgrims who visited the laura of Euthymius on the Adummim Plain (between Jerusalem and Jericho) (8) received loaves of bread, wine and oil upon their arrival at the monastery (9). At the monastery of Theodosius, the largest *coenobia* in the Judean Desert, large quantities of bread were needed for the many visitors. At first, the monks supervising the monastery's storehouses considered rationing the bread to one litra (c. 320 grams) per person. According to Theodosius' instructions, however, bread was distributed freely at the tables (10).

Since growing wheat was impossible in the Judean Desert, it was necessary to import it (11). Therefore, Judean Desert monks had to buy their wheat in the Transjordan (12). The writings of Cyril mention that wheat was purchased and transported from the Transjordan to the Great Laura of Sabas (Mar Saba) in the Kidron Valley. The steward of the laura hired Saracens to transport the wheat from the Dead

(5) CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Sabas* 24 ; SCHWARTZ, 107. Cyril completed his work prior to 560 A.D. The generally accepted edition is : E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig, 1939. A recent English translation is : R.M. PRICE, *Cyril of Scythopolis : The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, Kalamazoo, 1991.

(6) CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Cyriaci* 15 ; SCHWARTZ, 232.

(7) On Cyriac and the significance of his retreat into the interior of the desert, see : Y. HIRSCHFELD, *Sousakim : A Monument to St. Kiriakos in the Judean Desert*, in : *Sefer Zev Vilnay*, ed. E. SCHILLER, Jerusalem, 1984, pp. 281-285 (Hebrew).

(8) M.E. STONE, *Holy Land Pilgrimage of Armenians before the Arab Conquest*, in : *Revue Biblique*, 93 (1986), pp. 93-110.

(9) CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Euthymii* 17 ; SCHWARTZ, 27.

(10) THEODORE OF PETRA, *Vita Theodosii* 14 ; USENER, 37. This work by Theodore, bishop of Petra, a monk in the monastery of Theodosius, was completed in the mid-sixth century A.D. The generally accepted edition is : H. USENER, *Theodorus Petraeus : Vita sancti Theodosii*, Leipzig, 1890.

(11) See : R.B. RUBIN, *The "Laura" Monasteries in the Judean Desert during the Byzantine Period*, in : *Cathedra*, 23 (1982), p. 39 (Hebrew).

(12) Y. DAN, *The City in Eretz-Israel During the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Jerusalem, 1984, p. 190 (Hebrew).

Sea by camel⁽¹³⁾. The wheat, purchased in Machaerus, on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, apparently was transported to the Cisjordan by boat. Most likely, the boats on the Madaba map which were depicted crossing the Dead Sea, brought wheat to be sold throughout Palestine, particularly in the Judean Desert monasteries⁽¹⁴⁾.

The transport of wheat by caravans of camels shows the large quantities needed by monastic communities. Transport rates generally were high in late antiquity, thus causing the price of wheat to double⁽¹⁵⁾. Nevertheless, grain was vital and its purchase had become an established routine, at least as far as the larger monasteries were concerned. The monastery of Choziba (St. George) in Wadi Qelt had a permanent "purchasing agent" in the Transjordan (Provincia Arabia) who bought wheat for the monastery⁽¹⁶⁾. It is noteworthy that the large number of transactions required an agent and that Judean Desert monks were dependent upon grain imports. In addition, Cyril relates that the people of Madaba in the Transjordan who venerated Sabas contributed wheat and vegetables to him and his monks⁽¹⁷⁾.

The quantities of wheat, usually purchased after the harvest for the entire year, were stored in granaries built at the monasteries for this specific purpose. The written sources and archeological finds tell us about the nature of this installation in the Judean Desert monasteries. An anecdote attributed to Theodosius recounts that after arriving at the monastery of Marcian near Bethlehem⁽¹⁸⁾ for a visit, he was served

(13) CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Sabas* 81 ; SCHWARTZ, 186.

(14) Y. SPANIER, *The Cargo of the Ships Crossing the Dead Sea in the Map of Madaba : The Import of Grain to the Judean Desert Monasteries during the Byzantine Period*, in : *Halamish*, 4 (1987), pp. 65-66 (Hebrew).

(15) M. BROSHI, *Demographic Changes in Ancient Eretz-Israel : Methodology and Estimates*, in : *Man and Land in Eretz-Israel in Antiquity*, eds. A. KASHER et al., Jerusalem, 1986, pp. 50-51.

(16) ANTHONY OF CHOZIBA, *Vita Georgii* 25 ; HOUSE, 124. Anthony of the Choziba monastery in Wadi Qelt wrote the life of George, a holy monk also from Choziba in c. 630 A.D. The generally accepted version is : C. HOUSE, *Vita sancti Georgii Chozibitae auctore Antonio Chozibita*, in : *AB*, 7 (1888), pp. 95-144. For a recent Italian translation with introduction and commentary, see : L. DI SEGNI, *Nel deserto accanto ai fratilli, Vita di Gerasimo e di Giorgio de Choziba*, Magnano, 1991.

(17) CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Sabas* 45 ; SCHWARTZ, 136.

(18) Marcian founded an important monastery near Bethlehem and later was appointed archimandrite of the monasteries in the district of Jerusalem until his death in 492 A.D. His monastery has not been identified definitively, although it may have been one of the monasteries excavated by Corbo northeast of Bethlehem, perhaps Khirbet Siyar el-Ghanam. See : P.V. CORBO, *Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar el-Ghanam (Campo dei pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni*, Jerusalem, 1955.

a vegetable dish without bread at dinner. Realizing that the monastery was in financial straits, he plucked a small grain of wheat from Marcian's beard and instructed him to put it in the granary. The following day, when the monks came to open the doors of the granary, they found it overflowing with grain (19).

From the story, we learn that produce was stored in closed granary rooms, equipped with locked doors. A good example of a storeroom of this kind was excavated at the Khirbet ed-Deir monastery located in the middle of Nahal Arugot (Wadi el-Ghar) (Fig. 1) (20). The storeroom formed part of a complex of buildings adjacent to the monastery's refectory and kitchen and was square-shaped (2.2 × 2.5m.). Its area measured 5.5 square meters and its floor was entirely exposed, as were its walls which were preserved to a height of 1.2 meters (Fig. 2). The floor and walls were coated with a thick layer of uniform plaster, not the reddish "hydraulic plaster for cisterns", but the conventional grayish plaster. This plastered floor differed from the other floors of the monastery which consisted of mosaics or polished stone slabs. Apparently, this room was used to store grain and not liquids. A similar installation for storing grain is used to this day by the monks of the monastery of St. Catherine in southern Sinai (21). If we assume that the wheat in the granary at the Khirbet ed-Deir monastery was least one meter high, it would have been possible to store a significant quantity, perhaps 5.5 cubic meters of wheat there.

The wheat was ground locally in various types of flour mills, as was the case throughout the rest of the country. Hand-operated flour mills have been found in several monasteries in the Judean Desert and elsewhere. In the monastery of Khirbet Siyar el-Ghanam, northeast of Bethlehem, a basalt biconic mill was found (22).

The monks usually baked their bread at the monastery itself; hence, the importance of the bakery as a regular installation at each monastery. The *Life of Euthymius* notes that the bakery was one of the first buildings erected at the laura (23). The bakery and church at the Nea

(19) THEODORE OF PETRA, *Vita Theodosii*, ed. USENER, 74-75.

(20) Y. HIRSCHFELD and R. BIRGER, *Khirbet ed-Deir (desert de Juda) : 1981-1984*, in : *Revue Biblique*, 93 (1986), pp. 276-284.

(21) A photograph of the "granary pool" filled with grains of wheat appears in : G.H. FORSYTH and K. WEITZMANN, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai*, Ann Arbor, 1970, Pl. XVIII A.

(22) CORBO, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

(23) CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Euthymii* 15 ; SCHWARTZ, 123.

Laura are mentioned as the first two buildings there (24). In contrast, the bakery at the Great Laura was built only during the second phase of construction in the early sixth century A.D. (25). From the above evidence, it seems that the monks of the Great Laura at first baked their bread using simpler methods, without a special installation for this purpose.

In every bakery, the principal installation was the oven, which the monks stoked with wood and twigs gathered in the desert. One of the tasks performed by Sabas as a novice at the monastery of Theoctistus was gathering wood, probably for the oven of the bakery (26). In the early fifth century, Cassian wrote that monks from Bethlehem had to go into the desert, all the way to the Dead Sea in order to gather wood for stoking the oven at their monastery (27). A medieval source also mentions the transport of wood for cooking and for baking bread at the monastery (28).

Heating the oven was considered hard labor, especially in the scorching heat of the desert during the summer. The monk George of Choziba excelled at this task. According to his biography, written by Anthony of Choziba, George would ask the steward of the monastery not to bake the bread without him. His great skill and diligence at stoking the oven gave George the reputation of being "as strong as iron" (29). Upon his arrival at the monastery of Chariton, Cyriac baked bread as one of his initial tasks (30).

John Moschus relates an anecdote with interesting details about the dimensions of the oven and its operation. The hero of the story is a monk from the monastery of Theodosius whose task was to heat the oven. According to Moschus, the monk's friends wanted to play a trick on him. They hid the *spongisai*, a tool used to clean the floor

(24) *Idem.*, *Vita Sabas* 36 ; SCHWARTZ, 123.

(25) *Ibid.*, 32 ; p. 117.

(26) *Ibid.*, 8 ; p. 92.

(27) CASSIANUS, *De Institutis*, IV, 21 ; PETSCHENIG, 61. Cassian, an important Western monk in the late fourth-early fifth centuries, began as a novice at the monastery in Bethlehem. The generally accepted edition is : M. PETSCHENIG, *Johannes Cassianus, De Institutis Coenobiorum*, in : *CSEL*, 13, Vienna, 1888.

(28) For an excavation report on the monastery of Euthymius on the Adummim Plain, see : D.J. CHITTY, *Two Monasteries in the Wilderness of Judaea*, in : *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 60 (1928), p. 138.

(29) ANTHONY OF CHOZIBA, *Vita Georgii* 23 ; HOUSE, 122.

(30) CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Cyriaci* 7 ; SCHWARTZ, 226.

of the oven before baking bread. The monk did not give up. Showing perseverance and commitment, he climbed into the oven and cleaned the floor with the corner of his habit. Miraculously, he did not catch fire and emerged from the oven alive and well ⁽³¹⁾. From this story, it appears that the oven at the monastery of Theodosius had been sufficiently large for a person to enter. It was heated with blocks of wood placed against its walls. After the fire warmed the center of the oven, the debris of previous fires had to be removed and the floor of the oven cleaned. Then the dough was placed inside. These details are corroborated amply by the archeological remains of the large oven found in the refectory complex of the monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir (Fig. 3).

The oven was uncovered at the southern end of the kitchen used by the monks on the ground floor. (The refectory was located one floor above.) The oven installation was preserved to a height of 1.5 meters above the kitchen floor (Fig. 4). It stood on a round stone pedestal measuring 0.7 meters high ; its external circumference was 3.5 meters ; the thickness of its walls made of joined bricks on the inside and a layer of stones on the outside, reached 0.55 meters. Therefore, the circumference of the interior of the oven was only 2.4 meters. The floor of the oven on which loaves of bread were placed for baking was also made of joined slabs of clay. The floor tiles were wedge-shaped with the wide end facing outward. The joined bricks on the sides of the oven were well constructed, measuring 17 cm. wide, 20 cm. long, and about 3.5 cm. thick. The ceiling of the oven was domed, as can be seen in its rounded shape on the western side which is preserved better. The sixth-century oven at the monastery of St. Catherine in southern Sinai has been preserved in its entirety. It also had a dome made of joined clay bricks ⁽³²⁾.

On the basis of this information, we are able to reconstruct the oven at the monastery of Khirbet ed-Deir as it looked in the Byzantine period (Fig. 5). The opening of the oven faces the kitchen ; its doorjambs flare outward, and the threshold protrudes somewhat, like a shelf. Although the chimney was not preserved, it probably was located near the entrance, in light of the comparison of this oven with those at Pompeii and with those still in use today at Judean Desert monasteries. An

(31) JOHN MOSCHUS, *Pratum Spirituale* 92 ; MIGNE, 2949.

(32) FORSYTH and WEITZMANN, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXII A, B.

oven such as this has been noted at the Choziba (St. George) monastery in Wadi Qelt (Fig. 6). Its dome shape resembles Byzantine ovens where the chimney is located in front. Loaves of bread were inserted through the opening of the oven, directly on the clay floor. Blocks of wood which heated the oven were placed on the sides, against its rounded walls. This information enables us to reconstruct the oven at Khirbet ed-Deir, which also demonstrates the importance of baking bread in the daily life of the monastery.

At the monasteries, bread was baked in quantities sufficient to last for several days. Thus, on the day of Theognius' death, there were two oven-loads of bread for the needs of the community for two weeks⁽³³⁾. Loaves of bread were kept in special crates called "bread box" (*artotheke*), which were located in the kitchen or in a corner of the refectory. In the laura of Euthymius loaves were kept in a pantry built especially for this purpose⁽³⁴⁾.

Loaves baked by the monks probably were small and round, such as those often depicted in Byzantine mosaics. An excellent example are the loaves of bread in the basket depicted in the Heptapegon Church (el-Tabgha) on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee⁽³⁵⁾. Special stamps were used to make the impression of the crucifix which decorated the loaves. Several stone stamps used for making such impressions on loaves of bread have been found in the Dominus Flevit monastery on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem⁽³⁶⁾.

In conclusion, bread clearly served as the staple in the diets of monks of the Judean Desert. Monks also ate vegetables in season and various edible wild herbs⁽³⁷⁾. Cooked vegetable dishes comprised of several kinds of vegetables and beans often appear in the monastic writings of the Judean Desert. The sources also note various fruit trees, such

(33) PAUL OF ELUSA, *Vita Theognii* 22 ; VAN DEN GHEYN, p. 105. Paul of Elusa began his career as a monk in the monastery of Theognius, which has identified with Khirbet Mahrum, east of Bethlehem (not far from the monastery of Theodosius). His work was written after the death of Theognius in 526 A.D. The generally accepted edition is : J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *Paulus Elusinus : Vita sancti Theognii*, in : *AB*, 10 (1891), pp. 78-118.

(34) CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Euthymii* 17 ; SCHWARTZ, 27.

(35) For example, see : M. AVI-YONAH, *Ancient Mosaics*, London, 1975, pp. 44-46.

(36) B. BAGATTI, *Scavo di un monastero al Dominus Flevit*, in : *Liber Annuus*, 6 (1955-56), pp. 256-257.

(37) Y. HIRSCHFELD, *Edible Wild Plants : The Secret Diet of Monks in the Judean Desert*, in : *Israel : Land and Nature*, 16 (1990), pp. 25-28.

as grapes, figs, carobs and dates, which grew in gardens cultivated at every monastery. These, however, only supplemented the loaves of bread baked at the monasteries and given to resident monks, cell-dwelling monks nearby, visitors and pilgrims.

Moreover, archeological study of the Judean Desert monasteries indicates nearly total abandonment of many of the monasteries after 650 A.D., following the Muslim conquest. As traces of fire and destruction have not been found in the ruins of the abandoned monasteries, such as Khirbet ed-Deir, an organized and planned departure seems to have taken place. In fact, several monasteries may well have been abandoned because the monks no longer could provide their own bread. We must recall that contributions from pilgrims from all over the Byzantine Empire supported the monasteries. The Muslim conquest brought about a sharp decrease in the number of pilgrims, and consequently, depletion of the monasteries' coffers. In addition, damage to monastic property during the Persian conquest in 614 and subsequent attempts at renovation proved costly. The combination of events may well have depleted the funds and harmed the ability of the monks to continue to live in the desert. Since wheat was paid for in cash in the Transjordan and elsewhere, the lack of available funds brought about a decline in purchasing power. Without the staple of the monastic diet, the communities, particularly in the interior of the desert, had to abandon their monasteries. This process clearly shows that the desert monks were heavily dependent upon the civilized world and that their sustenance derived from a continuous supply of bread. When it ceased, they had to leave their desert homes.

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The author is grateful to Mrs. Rivkah Fishman-Duker of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for her helpful suggestions.

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All photographs by Zev Radovan, Jerusalem

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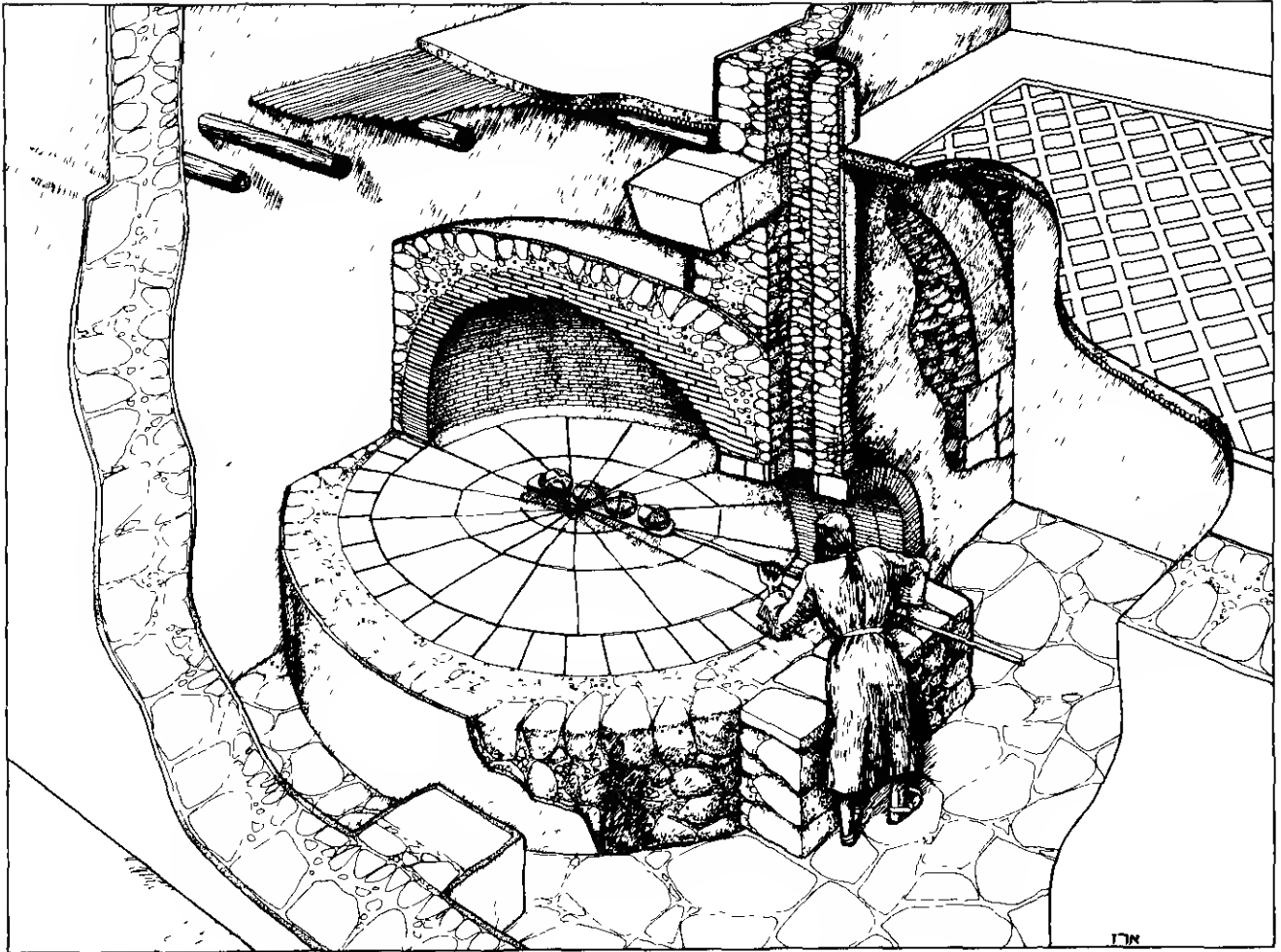


FIG. 5. — Reconstruction of the oven at Khirbet ed-Deir
(Sketch by Erez Cohen).

L'ÉCONOMIE PASTORALE

L'article *oikonomia* du *Patristic Greek Lexicon* de Lampe reconnaît à ce mot de nombreux emplois, théologiques, sociologiques et relationnels, mais, si je ne m'abuse, l'économie pastorale est quasiment absente. Pourtant l'emploi, théologique certes mais pastoral aussi, du terme a suscité de nombreux travaux. Les pages qu'y a consacrées Gilbert Dragon (1), sous le titre de *La règle et l'exception*, éclairent le traitement plus bref qu'il lui réserve dans l'*Histoire du Christianisme* (2). Dans la présente note je m'attacherai au concept, sans me limiter aux textes où figure le terme ; l'activité pastorale en présence du péché, et surtout du péché sexuel, plutôt que de l'erreur dogmatique, fera l'objet de ma recherche, mais sa documentation relativement maigre oblige à compléter par cette dernière ; je n'apporte rien de bien neuf, si ce n'est de rappeler la présence constante de deux opinions, l'une favorable à l'*akribie*, l'autre à l'*économie*, et de leur conflit, dont quelques manifestations politiques célèbres ont enrichi — à moins que ce ne soit noyé — le dossier. Plus vigoureusement s'affirme l'une et plus on peut être assuré de la présence de l'autre.

D'après Dragon, l'économie serait de «caractère négatif» (*La règle*, p. 4), un «... mélange de pessimisme et d'indulgence, la crainte de décourager le pécheur et le sentiment plus profond encore de l'inutilité de punir» (199). Ce jugement doit peut-être quelque chose au fait que

(1) *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours*, t. IV. *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)*, Desclée, 1993.

(2) Carolina CUPANE, *Appunti per uno studio dell'oikonomia ecclesiastica a Bizanzio*, *JÖB*, 38 (1988), pp. 51-73 ; G. DAGRON, *La règle et l'exception*, in *Religiöse Devianz : Untersuch. zu sozialen, rechtl. und theolog. Reaktionen auf relig. Abweichung im westl. und östl. Mittelalter*, ed. Simon DIETER, Frankfurt, 1990, pp. 1-16 ; DUCHATELEZ, *La notion d'é. et ses ricesses théologiques*, in *Nouv. Rev. Théol.* 92 (1970), pp. 267-292 ; P. HENRY, *The Moechian Controversy and the Constantinopolitan Synod of Jan. A.D. 809*, in *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, N.S. 20 (1969), pp. 495-522 ; J. REUMANN, *Oikonomia as "Ethical Accomodation" in the Fathers and its Pagan Background*, in *Studia Patristica* III (1961). Voir aussi la bibliographie dans DUCHATELEZ, *Notion*, et quelques travaux plus récents dans CUPANE, *Appunti*.

l'A. utilise presque exclusivement comme source des pamphlets et des traités rédigés, comme il le note lui-même, par des «adversaires de l'*οἰκονομία* et des partisans de son contraire, l'*ἀκρίβεια*» (*La règle*, p. 4). Il cite bien une lettre de Nicolas Mysticos qui la définit comme *imitation de la philanthropie divine*) *μίμησις τῆς θείας φιλανθρωπείας*, *La règle*, 14-15), sans grande conviction toutefois, et en fait, il s'agit ici aussi d'un pamphlet d'adversaire auquel nous reviendrons.

«La loi», toujours d'après D., était «*devenue* [mes italiques] trop rigoureuse pour une humanité en décadence». — Il me semble, au contraire, que telle était la situation de l'humanité depuis Ève : l'observation stricte avait toujours été au-delà de sa portée. Si la pierre de touche est «l'écart ... irrémédiable entre la situation idéale décrite par la loi et la situation réelle de l'humanité pécheresse» (*La règle*, 15), ne faut-il pas admettre que le caractère déplorable de l'*économie* vaut tout autant pour l'*économie divine* ? Mais laissons la réponse à Théodoret : *le principe de l'économie du Sauveur apparaît ... inattaquable et indiscutable. Il ne convenait pas en effet à l'Architecte de l'Univers, qui avait donné l'être à ce qui n'existait pas, de dédaigner l'humanité qui se perdait...* (3). Cet exemple sert particulièrement bien mon propos car, tout en appartenant à l'emploi théologique du mot, il fait charnière avec l'emploi pastoral : le but et la raison d'être de l'*économie* est de sauver ceux qui se perdent. Remarquable aussi l'affirmation qu'il *ne convenait pas* que Dieu dédaigne sa création.

Dans les canons il y a translation du lien théologique entre salut et *économie* — reconnaissable, même quand ce n'est pas le terme employé — au plan pastoral. In Trullo 102 donne comme but exclusif, de la rigueur comme de son contraire, de *ramener au bercail et guérir la brebis égarée et blessée par le serpent, sans l'acculer au désespoir ni lâcher le frein sur une vie dissolue et dévergondée* (4). Saint Basile

(3) THÉODORET, *Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, ed. P. CANIVET, I (1958) (SC, 57), VI, 74 (p. 281¹⁹) : ἄμαχος δήπουθεν καὶ ἀναμφισβήτητος δέδεικται τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκονομίας ὁ λόγος · ἔπρεπε γὰρ τῷ τὰ πάντα τεκτηναμένῳ καὶ τοῖς μὴ οὔσι τὸ εἶναι δωρησαμένῳ μὴ παριδεῖν διολλομένην τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν φύσιν... (Trad. de Canivet).

(4) ... Πᾶς γὰρ λόγος Θεῶ καὶ τῷ τὴν ποιμαντικὴν ἐγχειρισθέντι ἡγεμονίαν τὸ πλανώμενον πρόβατον ἐπαναγαγεῖν, καὶ τρωθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως ἐξιάσασθαι, καὶ μήτε κατὰ κρημνῶν ὠθήσαι τῆς ἀπογνώσεως, μήτε τὸν χαλινὸν ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βίου ἔκλυσιν τε καὶ καταφρόνησιν, In Trullo 102. In Trullo 2, également : *les 85 canons qui nous furent transmis au nom des Apôtres* πρὸς ψυχῶν θεραπείαν καὶ ἰατροίαν παθῶν.

avait eu le même souci : *Comme règle générale, renoncer au péché est le véritable remède (καθόλου δὲ ἀληθέστερόν ἐστιν ἴαμα ἢ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀναχώρησις), mais nous devons recourir aux deux, et à la rigueur et à la coutume*» (Bas. 3). Le recours à la coutume, contrasté à l'*akribie*, concerne ici spécifiquement la reconnaissance — exceptionnelle et par indulgence — du mariage tel que le définit le droit romain, comme simple contrat sujet à l'annulation. Que si Basile avait voulu donner à l'opposition en soi une expression formelle, le terme choisi n'aurait pas été *économie* (qui ne paraît que deux fois dans ses canons, au sujet, les deux fois, d'hérésie⁽⁵⁾), mais plutôt, peut-être, *philanthropie*.

À quel moment le terme *économie* apparaît-il dans un sens pastoral ? Athanase, dans sa lettre à Palladius, où il défend Saint Basile, attaqué pour ses relations avec les semi-ariens, écrit : *Car lui, comme j'estime, s'est fait infirme avec les infirmes afin de gagner les infirmes : que nos amis donc, considérant son intention de vérité et son économie, rendent gloire au Seigneur qui a donné à la Cappadoce un évêque comme toute région désire en posséder un*⁽⁶⁾. C'est d'*économie* qu'il s'agit, cela saute aux yeux, l'application précise du mot n'est cependant pas évidente. Prenons un texte célèbre de Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie : *Il arrive que les οἰκονομίαι τῶν πραγμάτων en conduisent quelques-uns à dépasser les limites de ce qui est permis pour obtenir un bien supérieur. Comme ceux qui naviguent sur la mer, si une tempête s'élève mettant le vaisseau en péril, jettent, sous l'emprise de la peur, une partie de la cargaison à la mer pour sauver le reste, nous sacrifions quelque chose (παρορῶμέν τινα) afin de ne pas souffrir la perte du tout*⁽⁷⁾. Faut-il voir dans αἱ οἰκονομίαι la dispensation ou les circonstances qui mènent à y avoir recours ? L'image qui sert à illustrer correspond toutefois exactement au concept — exprimé, d'ailleurs, par *économie* à la fin de la même lettre : ... ὁ τῆς οἰκονομίας τρόπος, ὃς οὐδενὶ τῶν συνετῶν ἀπῆρεσεν : la voie de l'*économie* qui ne déplaît à nulle personne sensée.

(5) ... i due famosi canoni basiliani 1 e 47 ... in cui l'uso del termine appare poco chiaro. CUPANE (v. ci-dessus, n. 2), 56 n. 16.

(6) PG, 26, col. 1168. Trad. DUCHATELEZ (v. ci-dessus n. 2), 289.

(7) Clavis 5356 «(Ep. 56) Ad Gennad. presb. et archimandr. PG, 77, col. 320. E. SCHWARZ, Codex Vat. gr. 1431 [Eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos], Abh. Bayer. Ak. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 32 B, 6 (1927) p. 17. — P. P. IOHANNOU, Fonti II, 286-7 (e collectionibus canonum). Nota. De Genn. vide F. DIECAMP, Analecta patristica, Roma, 1938, p. 54 sq.» in Clavis Patrum Graecorum, cura M. GEERARD, III 45 (dorénavant : Clavis).

Dans sa lettre 72 à Proklos de CP (8), où il lui demande de s'opposer à l'excommunication de Théodore de Mopsueste, S. Cyrille invoque l'économie sous forme de nom, d'adverbe et de participe (*οἰκονομία, οἰκονομικῶς, οἰκονομήσαντα*). Par contre, dans sa lettre 76, où il s'oppose à la réhabilitation de Saint Jean Chrysostome, le discours est tout autre, l'économie bien oubliée. (Ce ne sera pas réservé à S. Cyrille d'apprécier un cas comme justifiant d'y avoir recours et un autre non, de façon très subjective, tout au moins en présence de motivation politique). Cyrille est donc, au v^e s., une source intéressante pour l'emploi du terme au sens de «dispense», mais s'agissant d'erreurs théologiques. Dans les canons, la dispense dans le traitement du péché est abondamment attestée, mais qualifiée de *philanthropie* ou définie *a contrario* par l'*akribeia*. Ce n'est en fait qu'avec le dossier des séquelles du second mariage de Constantin VI que nous trouvons le terme économie employé systématiquement pour un abord pastoral du péché.

Ceux qui décident laquelle des deux doit être appliquée, ce sont les évêques (9). Les peines peuvent être diminuées à deux titres : soit pour le motif dont il a été question, soit pour un autre, son contraire, pourrait-on dire : le «canon» 74 (Ep. can. 3) de Basile autorise *celui à qui la miséricorde de Dieu a accordé de lier et de délier* à réduire la pénitence imposée, *car les Écritures nous apprennent que ceux qui confessent leur péché avec plus de contrition jouissent plus tôt de la miséricorde de Dieu*. Ici non plus ce n'est pas d'«inutilité de punir» qu'il s'agit, mais d'un mouvement spontané du pécheur qui rend la punition superflue.

(8) Ep. 72 à Proclus, PG, 77, col. 344-5, Clavis, p. 48 : 5372 SCHWARTZ, Codex, pp. 17-19. Cf. ACO, IV I 109-10 et IV 3 1, p. 175 sq.

L'article *Dispenses* du Diction. de la Théol. Cathol. (t. 4.2, pp. 1428-40), par A. VILLIEN, quoique traitant presque exclusivement du droit canon occidental, cite la lettre de Cyrille d'Alexandrie à Maximien, diacre d'Antioche, où Cyrille «emploie dans ce même sens d'*administration* et de *prudente indulgence* le mot grec *οἰκονομία* ... *οἰκονομίας ἔνεκα μὴ ἀκριβολογαύμενοι ; οὐκ γὰρ δεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα πολλῆς* [Ref. PG 77, col. 325-7 où ne se trouve qu'une version latine !]. Il n'y avait pas loin de cette *dispensatio* ou de cette *οἰκονομία* à notre dispense».

(9) Pour l'Église byzantine, le pouvoir de lier et de délier, donné, dans Matt. 6. 18-19, à Pierre, aux Apôtres dans Matt. 18.18, était passé des Apôtres à l'évêque, défini par le canon Apostolique 39 comme *celui qui se voit confier le peuple du Seigneur, celui qui devra rendre compte de leurs âmes* ; par S. Basile comme *celui qui administre la philanthropie de Dieu, pour lier et délier*. Le canon 5 d'Ancyre précise : *L'évêque a le pouvoir après avoir examiné dans quel esprit [le pécheur] revient, de faire preuve de miséricorde, ou, au contraire, de prolonger [la pénitence]*, alternative que reprend In Trullo 102.

L'*économie* dans l'exercice du ministère pastoral, en dehors des erreurs dogmatiques, est donc traitement canonique curatif, déjà largement codifié par S. Basile, et même avant, de péchés sans connotation religieuse, souvent sexuels. Cet aspect est parfois distingué du *πρᾶγμα μὴ ὀφειλὸν γενέσθαι* dont l'exemple banal est la circoncision de Timothée. Le vaste champ recouvert par *économie*, comme son emploi très souple, interdit une distinction trop absolue ; cependant, *grosso modo*, le *πρᾶγμα μὴ ὀφειλὸν γενέσθαι* est une action, en principe interdite, sciemment assumée et commise par quelqu'un investi, à un titre quelconque, de responsabilité, parce qu'il en sortira *un plus grand bien* (éviter le scandale, par exemple) ; c'est une *économie* parmi d'autres ; l'*économie* pastorale est surtout concernée par le péché auquel a succombé celui qu'il faut sauver.

Les canons cités (et ce ne sont pas les seuls) autorisent une réduction de peine, ou même l'annulation de celle-ci, accordée à un pécheur dont la douleur profonde atteste le repentir et donne suffisamment d'assurance quant à ses intentions futures, ou dont, au contraire, les dispositions paraissent moins que sûres, et dont *celui qui doit répondre de son âme* redoute que l'application telle quelle des peines canoniques ne pousse celui qu'il fallait sauver à se révolter et à s'enfoncer irrémédiablement dans le péché ; c'était un moyen utilisé pour aider la brebis égarée à retrouver le bercail. Son importance, dans la vie des byzantins est grande⁽¹⁰⁾, mais sans soulever de tempête, ni guère faire couler d'encre, tant qu'elle n'est sollicitée que par des gens modestes. Que ce même traitement soit accordé à une personne impériale, l'*économie* risque de devenir un enjeu politique, et c'est une tout autre affaire. Malheureusement ces cas susciteront la documentation la plus impressionnante, de sorte que, si nous n'y prenons garde, nos idées à ce sujet seront formées par les pamphlets et manifestes d'un des partis, rarement des deux, cependant que jamais ne passera la voix de la «majorité silencieuse».

Je voudrais examiner deux cas (auxquels nous avons déjà fait allusion) connus par un important dossier : les séquelles du remariage après divorce de Constantin VI, où saint Théodore Stoudite tient la vedette, et la tétragamie de Léon VI, illustrée par Nicolas I Mysticos et Aréthas

(10) Exemples chez C. CUPANE, *Appunti* (v. ci-dessus, n. 2) ; KARLIN-HAYTER, *Indissolubility and the Greater Evil. Three XIIIth c. Byzantine Divorce Cases*, in *Church and People in Byzantium*, Birmingham, 1991, pp. 87-105.

de Césarée. Ils ne s'en prennent pas de front à l'économie, elle est trop bien fondée dans les canons pour que le principe soit attaqué : il faut prouver que le cas auquel on s'oppose n'en relève pas.

La position de Théodore Stoudite est documentée de façon remarquable, et qui n'est pas seulement due au nombre de pages qui survivent, mais à leur caractère : un traité ou un pamphlet peut définir la théorie avec précision, mais une correspondance laissera mieux entrevoir les faits, c'est essentiellement d'eux qu'elle traite ; elle se modifie avec le temps et les circonstances ; si, en outre, elle s'adresse à un nombre important d'individus, elle apportera d'autant plus de données ; et si, enfin, les correspondants différents suscitent, de la part de l'auteur des lettres, un abord différent, il y a encore plus à en tirer. À toutes ces conditions la correspondance de Théodore satisfait.

«Ce moine, défenseur intrépide des saintes images» écrit Duchatelez «s'oppose aussi aux aberrations en économie» (11). Bien que, à la différence de nombreux admirateurs du Stoudite, cet auteur, tout au long de son excellent article, cite les canons, il faut néanmoins examiner cette appréciation de plus près, en scrutant ce à quoi Théodore s'oppose ; «aberration» a, évidemment, le sens de «ce qui est en conflit avec les canons ou avec leur intention manifeste».

Le conflit mené par le Stoudite est axé sur la levée de la suspension du prêtre Joseph qui avait béni le second mariage de Constantin VI. Le second mariage était admis par l'Église orthodoxe, avec pénitence s'étendant sur un an ou deux, notamment par les canons 4 et 80 de St. Basile (12) et 1 de Laodicée (13). S'il était conclu du vivant de la première femme, c'est-à-dire après divorce, cela permettait de compliquer l'affaire.

(11) Voir n. 2 (*loc. cit.* 280). — *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, recensuit Georgios Fatouros, de Gruyter, 1992 (dorénavant Fa).

(12) Bas. 4. *Περὶ τριγάμων καὶ πολυγάμων τὸν αὐτὸν ὠρίσαμεν κανόνα, ὃν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διγάμων ἀναλόγως. Ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν διγάμων ἄλλοι δὲ β' ἔτη. Τοὺς δὲ τριγάμους ἐν τρισὶ καὶ τέταρσι πολλάκις ἔτεσιν ἀφορίζουσιν. Ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἔτι γάμον, μᾶλλον δὲ πορνείαν κεκολασμένην.*

Bas. 80. *Τὴν πολυγαμίαν οἱ πατέρες ἀπεσιώπησαν, ὡς κτηνώδη καὶ παντελῶς ἀλλοτρίαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἡμῖν δὲ παρίσταται πλέον τι πορνείας εἶναι τὸ ἀμάρτημα, διὰ εὐλογον τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὑποβάλλεσθαι τοῖς κανόσι. δηλονότι ἐνιαυτὸν προσκλαύσαντας, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ὑποπεσόντας, οὕτω δεκτοὺς εἶναι.*

(13) Laodicée de Phrygie : «etwa zwischen 325 und 381». G. BECK, *Kirche und theol.*, 50 ; «Nothing definite known about Council of L. Mention of Photinians in can. 7 points to date not before c. 345, and prob. council took place at least 20 yrs later» *Concise O.D.C.C.*

Le concile de Laodicée, du IV^e s. comme Basile, vraisemblablement antérieur à l'épiscopat de celui-ci, et, tout comme lui, manifestement tributaire d'une tradition déjà bien constituée, formule la règle de façon, à première vue, très claire : *Au sujet de personnes librement et légalement unies par un second mariage, sans liaison clandestine, il faut, après un petit temps de prières et de jeûne, qu'elles reçoivent l'absolution et soient rendues à la communion* (14). Cependant *légalement* signifie ici conformément à la loi civile. Le double fait que le mariage est resté légalement un contrat devant l'État et non devant l'Église jusqu'au règne de Léon VI (886-912), mais que son caractère d'engagement chrétien était censé primer la loi, constituait une ambiguïté fondamentale (15). Le canon cité précise clairement que les personnes visées sont déjà mariées : il faut simplement régulariser leur situation vis-à-vis de l'Église. Or la loi civile ne fait aucun problème pour unir des divorcés ; les Pères qui ont voté le canon tenaient-ils compte de ce fait ? On sait par Origène qu'il y avait, de son temps, des évêques pour permettre le remariage aux divorcés, et cela ne lui paraissait pas tellement déraisonnable (16). Si je ne me trompe, les deux attitudes ont toujours été présentes, le fait que le canon de Laodicée ne donne pas de précision sur cet aspect laissait chacun libre de défendre ce qui lui paraissait juste (que cela ait été ou non le but des Pères de Laodicée) ; Saint Basile met les points sur les i : un mariage civil où l'une des parties est divorcée n'est rien d'autre que *fornication* (17), ce n'est *ni mariage ni début de mariage* ; idéalement il faut en séparer les auteurs. On cite parfois Basile comme tenant de l'*akribie*, mais c'est à partir des *Moralia* (18) qu'il composa avant d'avoir une expérience pastorale ; c'est dans les lettres canoniques que se trouvent ses options en présence du vécu, et là on le voit admettant une solution, une *économie*, pour ces personnes, en fornication devant l'Église mais légalement unies

(14) *Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα, τοὺς ἐλευθέρως καὶ νομίμως συναφθέντας δευτέροις γάμοις, μὴ λαθρογαμήσαντας, ὀλίγου χρόνου παρελθόντος, καὶ σχολήσαντας ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ νηστεῖαις, κατὰ συγγνώμην ἀποδίδοσθαι αὐτοῖς τὴν κοινωνίαν*, Laod. 1.

(15) In Trullo 3 fait état de ceux qui pêchent par ignorance, *ce qui arrive à une foule de gens*.

(16) *Comm. In Matth. XIV*, PG, 13, col. 1245AB. Voir aussi P. L'HUILLIER, *Le témoignage d'Origène en matière de remariage après séparation*, in *Gr. Orth. Theol. Review*, 32 (1987).

(17) Bas. canon 80 : *On n'appelle pas ce genre de [cohabitation] mariage, mais plutôt fornication limitée* (n. 12).

(18) Basile de Césarée, *Moralia*, PG, 31 col. 849. Rédigé avant 365.

devant la loi : s'ils *refusent d'être séparés*, il faut les *soumettre aux peines* [ecclésiastiques] *prévues*, mais les laisser *ensemble de crainte que le pire n'arrive*.

Comment au juste se sont passées les choses dans le cas de Constantin VI ? Les intérêts politiques ont rapidement imposé de brouiller les données ; ni l'impératrice Irène ni les soutiens qui lui avaient permis de liquider le mariage et Constantin lui-même ne pouvaient admettre que c'était au défi d'une *économie*. La campagne que mena plus tard S. Théodore Studite ne l'admettait pas plus. Les commentaires de la *Vita* de S. Théodore n'en sont que plus intéressants : *le Patriarche, cédant un peu sur le terrain de l'akribie, retint d'un «mal plus grand»* (19) *l'empereur qui déraisonnait, car il menaçait de rejeter, lui aussi, comme ses prédécesseurs, les saintes images, s'il n'obtenait pas ce qu'il voulait. Mais notre Père [Théodore], lui, placarda au grand jour cette impiété et par ses arguments et ses réfutations retint de leur fuite en avant, non seulement ceux qui avaient déjà agi mais ceux aussi qui étaient portés à faire de telles choses, et enseigna à ne pas être complètement sous l'emprise des passions. De toute façon, il est bien et très utile, tant de recourir à l'économie que de ne pas renoncer à l'akribie. Les deux visent ce qui est profitable et la défense de ce qui est préférable* (τοῦ βελτίονος). La *Vita* B innocente complètement Irène de la violence faite à Constantin : *il fut victime d'une rébellion de son armée* (ἐπανάστασιν πρὸς τοῦ ἰδίου ὑποστάς στρατεύματος) *et privé de ses deux yeux* ; elle escamote de même l'économie : Irène (αὕτη ἡ θεοφιλεστάτη ἄνθρωπος), *aussitôt qu'elle eût reçu le gouvernail de l'empire, fait revenir d'exil le grand Théodore et obtient qu'il se réconcilie* (ποιεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνωθῆναι) *avec le très saint patriarche Taraise... en disant qu'ils avaient agi, l'un et l'autre, bien et de façon agréable à Dieu. Je concluerais que Taraise fut certainement impliqué dans l'économie en question ; qu'il ait accordé la bénédiction du mariage mais refusé un mariage impérial célébré par le patriarche me paraît tout à fait normal ; puis, quand Irène eut repris le pouvoir et patronné une réconciliation entre lui et le Stoudite, il observa une grande discrétion à ce sujet, et le prêtre Joseph, qui avait béni l'union, put commodément en avoir la responsabilité. Constantin détrôné et Joseph déposé, plus rien ne faisait obstacle à la paix de l'Église ; mais neuf ans plus tard, l'interdit sur Joseph avait été levé, lui permettant de reprendre le service de l'autel.*

(19) μεῖζονος ἐντεῦθεν κακοῦ.

C'est contre cette mesure que le Stoudite mena, pendant cinq ans, campagne (20).

Cependant la lettre 50 de Théodore, adressée à son disciple fidèle Naucrèce, instructive à plus d'un titre, s'étendant sur un peu plus de six pages dans l'édition de Fatouros, est consacrée à la théorie d'un second mariage, en en définissant le statut à partir des Écritures et des canons : *Le second mariage est reconnu par l'Apôtre et, à travers lui, par le Christ, non comme règle de conduite (νόμος) mais comme concession. Les Pères ont soumis les digames à la pénitence, ceux de Laodicée sans en préciser la durée, Saint Basile en spécifiant un an ou deux* (21) (17). *Les Écritures comme les Pères montrent que le second mariage ne doit pas être couronné, c'est pourquoi il n'est pas célébré par un prêtre. Cependant il sera admis lorsque sera complétée la pénitence, quelle qu'elle soit, qu'une autorité ecclésiastique aura jugé bon d'infliger. Au terme de la pénitence, la communion eucharistique sera accordée et la bénédiction concédée, une bénédiction toutefois de second ordre* (22). *Le prêtre pourra participer au festin comme pour un premier mariage* (63). *Tu vas dire : Et comment obtiennent-ils l'union (συνάφεια) ? — À travers les coutumes humaines [c'est-à-dire le mariage civil, mais v. note] (23) (75). Et Théodore constate qu'un relâchement excessif à l'égard des canons, ou plutôt de l'Évangile, fait qu'à présent sont couronnés par des prêtres, non seulement digames et trigames, mais même des mariages adultérins, situation qui remonterait, d'après certains, au troisième mariage de l'impie Constantin V, origine qui ne lui paraît pas invraisemblable (la prudence le pousse néanmoins à ajouter que ceux qui cherchent la vérité ne doivent pas se fier à ce qui se dit...).* Après cette parenthèse, il poursuit : *Peut-être vas-tu encore*

(20) J'examine l'aspect politique de cette affaire ailleurs, notamment dans *A Byzantine politician monk. St. Theodore Studite*, in *ANAPIAS*, Studies dedicated to Herbert Hunger for his 80th birthday (= *JÖB* 44, 1994), pp. 217-32.

(21) Pour les deux, voir ci-dessus, nn. 12 et 14.

(22) ἐντεῦθεν εὐλογουμένους αὐτοὺς [acc. dépendant de ?] οἶονεὶ ὡς ἐπὶ στεφανώματος, κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον μετὰ συγχώρησιν 50, 68.

(23) τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους καθήκουσιν, ὡς περ καὶ οἱ τρίγαμοι καὶ οἱ πολύγαμοι ..., ἢ στεφανούσθωσαν κάκεῖνοι. Comment expliquer cette dernière proposition ? Toutes ces catégories peuvent en effet se marier légalement, s'il n'y a pas d'autre empêchement, et l'adjectif «humaines» exclut une cérémonie d'Église, mais le couronnement appartient à celle-ci. L'ironie me semble la solution la plus simple.

La note sur la *συνάφεια* suppose que les intéressés sont déjà mariés civilement pendant la durée de la pénitence.

répéter ce que disent certains, que, si l'une des parties est vierge il faut lui mettre la couronne sur la tête, mais pour celui [qui arrive] d'un autre mariage, la lui poser sur l'épaule, après la prière de couronnement ? Idée, d'après moi, impraticable et risible (24). Voilà qui prouve à suffisance que le divorce suivi de remariage était relativement courant, généralement accepté et même habituellement couronné. Quant au but précis de la lettre, on peut supposer qu'il s'agissait d'équiper Naucrace, pour qu'il puisse soutenir le débat, mais préciser comment, au juste, il était censé la lire est délicat.

C'est pour avoir célébré le mariage de Constantin que le Stoudite condamne Joseph, mais c'est Joseph lui-même qu'il poursuit. Les canons auxquels il a régulièrement recours sont deux : Néocésarée 7, interdisant à tout prêtre d'être présent au festin de noces d'un *digamos*, et un canon africain : *Si la sentence portée contre un prêtre n'est pas levée dans l'année, elle ne saurait plus l'être* (canon Concilii Africanan. 419) (25). Certes, la règle était, pour les prêtres, plus rigoureuse, il n'est même pas exclu de penser qu'elle était plus rigoureusement appliquée (26), mais pour eux aussi, non seulement l'économie existait,

(24) *Ep.* 50 à Naucrace, Fa I, 145. Relâchement... 78 ; impie Constantin... 10 ; *ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχειν μὲν τὸν λόγον τὸ πιστὸν ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζω* 12 ; peut-être vas-tu dire... 87.

(25) FATOUROS : «Concilium Africanum can. 46 (IV 493 E. Mansi)».

Il s'agit du synode de mai 25-30, 419, sous la présidence d'Aurélius.

Ce canon se trouve aussi dans *Registri eccl. carthaginensis excerpta*, réunis très vraisemblablement, d'après Munier, par Dionys. Exiguus (*Concilia Africae* A.345-A.525, ed. C. MUNIER, (CChr 159) Brepols, 1974, pp. 203, 725).

Neocaes. 7 : Fa 21, 17 ; 22, 84 ; 28, 38 ; 50, 35. 525, 28. 535, 26. Carthag. : Fa 21, 20 ; 22, 91 ; 24, 83. Il cite quatre autres canons, chacun une seule fois. Dans sa lettre 22, 17 : *μοιχεία δὲ ... τὸ χαλεπὸν ἀμάρτημα καὶ εἰσοδύναμον φονέως, ἀρρενοφθόρου τε καὶ ἀλογενομένου, φαρμακοῦ τε καὶ εἰδωολολάτρου κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τοῦ θεοῦ Βασιλείου = canon 7 (ep. can. I) ; Fa 24, 81 : καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο κανὼν τοῦ Ἀγ. Βασιλείου εἰς ἱερέα ἀμωκότα ἐπ' ἀληθεία τοῦ ἀρκεῖσθαι μόνον τῇ οἰκειᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἀλλῇ προσφέρειν δῶρον. (Basil canon 17, ep. 199, 17, PG 32, col. 716 ; — II 155 Courtonne). Dans la lettre 24.83 conc. Carthage 13 : *Καὶ πάλιν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ τῶν χειροτονούντων τοὺς ἐκ τῶν μοναστηρίων ἀποστατοῦντας τὸ τοὺς τοιοῦτους μὴ δεῖν εἰς ἐτέραν ἐκκλησίαν παρ' ἣν κατέχει ἕκαστος ἐπισκοπὴν ἱερουργεῖν, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας εἶναι καθηρημένους* Conc. Carth. can. 13 (III 971A Mansi = Conc. Afr. can. 47 [IV 493 E sq. Mansi ; MUNIER] Fa 43, 30 : *στήτω μόνον τῆς ἱερουργίας ἀπολαύων τῆς τιμῆς κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τοῦ Μεγ. Βασιλείου. Basil 70 (ep. 217, 70 PG 32, col. 801A = II 212 Courtonne).**

(26) On connaît par Eustathios Rhomaios le cas d'un prêtre autorisé par le synode à exercer son ministère sans renoncer à sa maîtresse (une veuve), chez qui il vivait en se faisant passer pour son esclave. *Peira* XXV 5. Au canon Apost. XVII, interdisant la prêtrise à tout homme marié deux fois après le baptême ou qui a eu une concubine, Balsamon : *Comment concilier cela avec le nombre d'anagnostes digames qui ont gardé leurs places, et même, grâce à des billets signés par des évêques, été promus ?*

mais elle était canoniquement prévue. In Trullo 21 dit : [*Les clercs*] *qui ont contrevenu aux canons et pour cela été soumis à la dégradation absolue et perpétuelle, et rejetés au statut de laïcs, si de leur propre volonté ils poursuivent le retour à la grâce et rejettent (ἀθετοῦσι) le péché par lequel ils en sont tombés, et s'en libèrent complètement, qu'ils soient rendus à la tonsure cléricale.* St. Théodore répondait en citant le canon africain. Bien entendu, l'existence de canons contradictoires, émanant de régions différentes, dictées par des circonstances différentes, sans parler d'ambiguïtés dans un même canon, permettait de défendre des thèses incompatibles. En fait Théodore n'a guère eu recours aux canons, il s'est surtout fié à la rhétorique, et à des procédés sophistiques transparents.

C'est ainsi que l'économie est identifiée au péché même pour lequel elle est accordée : *ils prétendent que le mariage adultérin est économie et érigent cela en dogme* (27). Le pouvoir de lier et de délier est allègrement malmené : *C'est au pouvoir de qui le veut de décréter que celui qui tombe sous le coup de canons* (28) *qui le condamnent à la déposition ne sera pas déposé.* À peine mieux : *Les hiérarques, suivant leur bon plaisir ...*

Par contre, affirmer que l'économie vaut législation, enseignement, invitation au péché — *Ce qu'ils ont proclamé en synode, et confirmé par l'anathème de ceux qui s'opposaient à leur opinion, c'est-à-dire leur économie, ... comment peuvent-ils dire qu'ils ne s'en font pas les hérauts et ne l'enseignent pas ?* (29) — est beaucoup moins irresponsable. En général, les adversaires de l'économie, mais ses partisans aussi, étaient sensibles à ce qu'un péché toléré pouvait avoir d'exemplaire. Il semble même y avoir eu, à l'occasion, des métropolitains pour estimer

(27) 48, 152 ; 33, 30. Parmi d'autres exemples : οἱ δὲ ... τὴν μοιχείαν τὴν ἐκκήρυκτον νόμου καὶ χάριτος «caret, e.g. ἄρνησιν ?» μέχρι καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἐμβλεμματικῆς τὴν τε λύσιν τῆς οὐχ ἐλαχίστης ἀλλὰ πρώτης εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ πρακτικῷ καὶ μεγίστης ἐντολῆς [allusion transparente à Mat. 22.38 !], καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὴν οὐκ ἐπὶ ματαίῳ λῆψιν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀθεμίτῳ τηλικαύτῃ πράξει πονηρᾷ, λέγω δὴ μοιχοζευξία, λῆψιν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μετάληψιν τῶν μυστηρίων ΧΥ καὶ στεφανικὴν τοῦ μοιχορροῦ διαβόλου καὶ ὑπηρέτου αὐτοῦ θεομαχίαν, οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ προσηγόρευσαν Fa 36, 15.

(28) Quand Théodore Studite a le soutien du canon il peut écrire : *Pourquoi dire «canons» comme s'il s'agissait d'autre chose [que de la parole de Dieu] ? Les citer ou citer l'Évangile du Christ, c'est la même chose. Il a donné les clefs du Royaume au grand Pierre et encore à tous les Apôtres, transmettant le pouvoir à ceux qui leur succèdent, successivement à travers les âges.* Fa 36, 129.

(29) Fa 48, 30.

qu'accorder l'*économie* entraînait la régularisation définitive de l'action jusque-là interdite ; d'après Balsamon (s'agissant d'un tout autre débat) une partie du synode où il siégeait prétendait que le comportement sur lequel ils avaient à se prononcer était permis, puisqu'un cas en était venu devant les Pères du III^e concile œcuménique (Ephèse, a. 431) qui l'avaient réglé par une *économie*. Balsamon commente : *la décision des Pères fut dictée par l'économie ; ce qui fut introduit par économie à quelque fin utile ne doit pas être pris comme exemple ni avoir force de canon par la suite* (30).

L'identification comme hérésie de la communion avec celui qui avait béni le mariage «adultérin», trouvaille impressionnante, grandiose, dans les pages de Saint Théodore, eut, en fait, un succès très limité ; elle impressionne sûrement plus aujourd'hui qu'elle ne le fit à l'époque ; non seulement le synode, mais son oncle Platon, son frère Joseph et certains de ses disciples les plus fidèles refusèrent de le suivre là (31). S'il y recourut, c'est que l'*économie* était inébranlable du point de vue canonique.

Non seulement Théodore ne s'oppose pas au principe, au contraire, il en use, dit-il, lui-même (31, 1-7 ; 32, 27 ; 49, 116) ; ce contre quoi il s'insurge, c'est l'*illégalité traitée d'économie* (33), thème que nous avons déjà évoqué. Il avait composé un traité, à présent perdu, *Περὶ τῆς καθόλου οἰκονομίας*, et dans sa lettre 49, il en esquisse la théorie. Le destinataire, Naucrèce, l'avait interrogé au sujet d'une *économie* de Cyrille d'Alexandrie qui maintenait la communion avec les évêques d'Orient, bien qu'ils gardaient dans les diptyques le nom de l'hérétique Théodore de Mopsueste. Théodore répond en lui conseillant de voir ce qu'il en dit dans le traité en question.

Au centre de la campagne de Théodore Stoudite ne se trouvait pas l'empereur «adultère», puisqu'il était mort, mais le prêtre qui avait célébré le mariage. L'affaire de la Tétragamie, par contre, tournait autour de l'empereur fautif et de sa pénitence : pouvait-il la commencer sans se séparer de cette quatrième femme ? Nicolas I Mysticos (patriarche de 901-907 et de 912-925) définit l'*économie* comme *concession salvifique qui sauve celui qui a péché, en tendant une main secourable pour relever de sa chute celui qui était tombé ; elle ne le laisse pas croupir là — disons plutôt qu'elle ne le pousse pas vers*

(30) PG 137, col. 372 CD.

(31) KARLIN-HAYTER, *Politician Monk*, p. 231.

l'abîme. L'économie est imitation de la miséricorde divine ; elle arrache à la mâchoire de la bête qui aboie à nos trousses celui qui est sur le point d'être dévoré... Mais tant qu'il continue à pécher il n'en est pas arraché... Accorder cela, même Celui qui est venu prendre sur Lui les péchés du monde n'en aurait le pouvoir, ne parlons pas d'un autre (32). Il ne mâche pas ses mots. C'est de Léon VI qu'il s'agit, et de son quatrième mariage, interdit dans l'Église d'Orient, à plus forte raison évidemment que le deuxième (33). S. Basile donne la règle par deux fois, d'abord dans son « canon 4 » : *Concernant ceux qui se marient trois fois et plus nous avons fixé la règle par analogie avec le second mariage. Pour les digames c'est un an [d'excommunication], d'autres disent deux ans. Ceux qui se marient trois fois, ils* (34) *les excommunient souvent pendant trois années ou même quatre. On n'appelle pas ce genre d'affaire mariage, mais plutôt fornication restreinte. Il y revient dans le canon 80 : Les Pères ont passé sous silence les mariages successifs comme bestialité complètement étrangère à l'espèce humaine. Pour nous, ce péché est légèrement mieux que la fornication, et il convient de mettre ceux qui en sont coupables en règle avec les canons. Une année de prosklasis et trois de prosternation, après quoi ils seront reçus dans l'Église* (35).

Cette affaire est tout particulièrement intéressante pour la lumière qu'elle jette sur le fonctionnement du synode (36) comme sur les opinions en présence, dont on peut soupçonner qu'elles représentent la norme synodique. Elle révèle aussi, plus clairement que l'affaire de Constantin VI, qui s'est jouée après la mort de celui qu'on pouvait prendre pour le principal intéressé, qu'il était en fait plus complexe pour un empereur que pour un particulier d'obtenir une dispense. Et cela non seulement parce que, pour lui, elle ne dépendait pas d'un seul évêque,

(32) *Lettres*, éd. R. J. H. JENKINS & L. G. WESTERINK, Dumbarton Oaks, 1973, 32, 363 ; 375.

(33) C'est par ce même Léon VI (886-912) que fut promulguée une loi rendant obligatoire la bénédiction nuptiale pour qu'un mariage soit légalement valide (nov. 89).

(34) Basile transmet une législation déjà élaborée et puisée à différentes sources (cf. le canon 80).

(35) Voir n. 12.

Le *πλέον τι πορνείας* du can. 80 confortait les rigoristes qui traduisaient *plus que la fornication par pire que...* La pénitence plus brève montre bien qu'il faut comprendre *mieux que*.

(36) Cf. *Le synode à CP de 886 à 913 et le rôle de Nicolas le Mystique dans l'affaire de la Tétragamie*, in *Jahrb. Österr. Byz. Gesellsch.* XX (1970), pp. 59-101.

mais du synode de CP, l'*endemousa*, mais surtout parce que cela peut, évidemment, constituer une arme politique contre lui, même quand la défaite n'est pas aussi cruelle qu'elle le fut pour Constantin.

Parmi ceux qui ont joué un rôle de premier plan, Aréthas, métropolitain de Césarée, a laissé, non seulement des discours et autres compositions adressés à un public, mais aussi des scolies. D'autre part, sa première position, d'opposition à l'*économie*, lui a attiré un procès truqué suivi d'exil, ce qui suppose un engagement réel à quelque chose, peut-être même, comme il l'a prétendu plus tard, au principe que l'*économie* ne doit pas être accordée tout de suite, sans que l'on tente au moins d'imposer au pécheur le *remède véritable*. Et quand, enfin, il passe de l'autre côté, il présente de son action des justifications successives ; mais ce n'est qu'à partir de la seconde qu'une *économie* est envisagée à l'égard de celui qui a péché.

Résumons les événements. Léon VI, qui avait enterré trois femmes, eut enfin un fils de sa maîtresse, Zoé Carbonopsina. Légitimer cet héritier était capital. Il obtint du patriarche, Nicolas I^{er} Mysticos, malgré l'opposition de certains métropolitains influents, un baptême impérial pour l'enfant, et Nicolas se faisait fort de régulariser le mariage aussi (37). L'histoire de la Tétragamie est complexe : le zèle initial du patriarche pour donner satisfaction à l'empereur s'explique sûrement par le fait que sa participation à une tentative de rébellion venait d'être découverte. Léon, d'autre part, fit demander une dispense à Rome, mesure à laquelle le patriarche était opposé. L'opposition menée par Aréthas de Césarée et Épiphane de Laodicée d'une part, et de l'autre l'information que l'empereur envisageait de le faire déposer de toute façon, amenèrent Nicolas à renverser sa position ; d'après la *Vita Euthymii*, au retour d'une séance difficile au palais, il aurait envoyé chercher les principaux métropolitains et leur aurait demandé de s'engager par écrit à refuser à l'empereur l'autorisation de commencer sa pénitence tant qu'il ne se serait pas séparé de Zoé ; lui-même adhérerait à cette politique sans se laisser fléchir et sans démissionner. Il fit par la suite signer cet engagement par les autres métropolitains (38).

(37) *Vita Euthymii*, ed. KARLIN-HAYTER, Bruxelles, 1970, pp. 73-99 ; p. 16 introd. ; KARLIN-HAYTER, *Synode* (v. n. précéd.) — Nicolas prétend, au contraire, qu'il n'avait accordé le baptême impérial que contre une promesse de Léon qu'il se séparerait de Zoé, mais le rôle que Nicolas prétend avoir tenu pendant les mois qui séparent la naissance de Constantin de sa propre démission du patriarcat n'est démonstrablement pas conforme à la réalité.

(38) *Vita Euthymii*, 75, 10 ; une seconde réunion 83, 4.

Il n'en démissionna pas moins devant la menace d'un procès de haute trahison. Cet acte, avec la dispense venue de Rome, permit de placer sur le trône patriarcal un moine austère, Euthyme, qui, malgré son austérité, s'inclinant devant la volonté du premier siège, accepta l'économie. Les métropolitains, ne se sentant plus tenus devant la volte-face de Nicolas (39), et fidèles, en grande majorité, à leur première option, rejoints par Aréthas aussi et par d'autres représentants, sans doute, de l'opposition, s'alignèrent derrière le nouveau patriarche. Léon fut enfin réintégré dans la communauté chrétienne et put commencer sa pénitence.

Comment les différents acteurs justifiaient-ils leurs prises de position, comme leurs revirements ?

En fait, pour Aréthas seul survivent des textes permettant d'en juger. Sur la première, d'*akribie*, nous avons de lui, entre autres, des scolies à une collection canonique, écrites pendant les événements. En marge de Néocésarée VII, il note seulement : *Et ceux qui, devant une tétragamie, non seulement participent au festin mais approuvent, qu'est-ce qu'ils ont mérité ?* (40). Son exégèse du canon 80 de Saint Basile (41), par contre, constitue une interprétation *akribique* valable — si ce n'est qu'il ne tient pas compte d'autres canons de Basile : *Voici ce que dit le canon : que les saints Pères, lors d'une réunion de [membres] d'élite de la communauté chrétienne de l'époque* (42), n'ont pas tenu les

(39) *Vita Euthymii*, 95, 33-97, 8.

(40) οἱ δὲ τοῖς τετραγάμοις οὐ μόνον συνεστιώμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦντες, τίνος ἄξιοι ; scholion d'Aréthas dans le *Valllicell. gr.* 79 (F 10) ed. V. N. BENEŠEVIĆ in appendice *Nomocanonis XIV titularum*, Petropoli, 1905.

(41) Basile 80 : τὴν πολυγαμίαν οἱ πατέρες ἀπεσιώπησαν, ὡς κτηνώδη καὶ παντελῶς ἄλλοτρίαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ἡμῖν δὲ πλέον τι πορνείας εἶναι τὸ ἀμάρτημα, διὸ εὐλογον τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὑποβάλλεσθαι τοῖς κανόσι ... Scholion d'Aréthas dans le *Valllicell. gr.* 79 (F 10) : Τοιοῦτον τὸ λεγόμενον, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἅγιοι πατέρες, ἅτε δὴ ἀπὸ ἐγκρίτου συστήματος τοῦ τῶν χριστιανῶν τηλικαῦτα πληρώματος ἀθροισόμενον, οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἠγήσαντο πτώμα τὴν πολυγαμίαν ἀλλὰ κτηνώδες · διὸ οὐδὲ θεραπείας ἤξιωσαν. ἡμῖν δὲ, ἐπεὶ χριστιανοῖς βασιλεῦσι χρωμένους οὐκέτι τὸ ἐκλελογισμένον ἐν τοῖς πιστοῖς ὁρᾶται, ἀλλὰ τῶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος νεύματι καὶ τῇ ἀρεσκείᾳ τὸ ἀδιάκριτον τῶ χριστιανισμῶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπάγεται, δοκεῖ λοιπὸν ἐν πλῆθει τοσούτων συγλύδων ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἀπογινώσκειν ἀμάρτημα, καὶ κτηνώδες μὲν μηκέτι τοῦτο νομίζοντας ἀθεράπευτον εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ὃ ἀφωμοιοῦται πτώμα καὶ τὸ ἔμπλαστρον ἐπιτρέπειν. τίσι δὲ ἀφωμοιοῦται ; τοῖς ἀκολάστοις πόρνοις ... ὥστε καὶ τοῦ μιάσματος ἄλλοτριωθήσεται ὡσπερ κάκεῖνοι, ὁ πρὸς θεραπείαν ἀφορμήσας · οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πέσοι προσόζων καὶ διασηπόμενος τοῖς μώλωψιν ἐτι τῆς ἀφροσύνης.

(42) Ce développement est-il censé expliquer chez les Pères responsables du canon, par une vision plus haute et plus exigeante de l'humanité, une tolérance moins grande ?

mariages successifs pour une faute humaine, mais bestiale, et c'est pourquoi ils ne l'ont pas jugée digne de thérapie. Nous, par contre [repris à Basile, mais c'est Aréthas qui va parler], puisque, sous des empereurs chrétiens, la réflexion ne se voit plus chez les fidèles [par opposition à ἐγκρίτου συστήματος ?], mais [un comportement] que n'admet pas le christianisme est popularisé au bon plaisir du souverain, il nous semble ... qu'il ne faut pas nous détourner d'un tel péché, ni le tenir pour bestial et le laisser sans traitement, mais accorder le traitement [prescrit pour ceux qui se rendent coupables du] péché comparable. Et à qui sont comparables ceux qui le commettent ? À ceux qui fornicent sans retenue ... Se libérera, comme eux, de la pollution celui qui s'élancera vers le traitement ; car celui-là ne sera pas en règle avec les canons qui est encore puant et plein du pus de l'irresponsabilité. [C'est-à-dire non séparé de son partenaire].

Et puis il change de bord et accepte que Léon soit admis à accomplir sa pénitence sans se séparer de Zoé. Rien d'étonnant qu'il ait cru nécessaire de s'en expliquer au synode. De cette *Apologie* le *Mosq. Mus. Hist. gr.* 315 (43) donne deux rédactions successives. La première ne fut certainement jamais prononcée, mais représente néanmoins une étape dans le revirement de son auteur, car, malgré un passage commun qui occupe près de cinq pages du ms., l'appréciation de la situation se modifie de l'un à l'autre : dans le premier, il insiste beaucoup plus pour dire qu'il n'est pas là parce qu'il voit les choses autrement : *Je ne chante pas une palinodie. Si d'autres avaient, comme moi, combattu pour les lois de Dieu, le résultat serait bien différent. Si je me rends, c'est parce qu'il ne faut pas sacrifier tout le troupeau qui m'a été confié par le Seigneur dans l'espoir de sauver un seul homme. Si j'abandonne mes ouailles, qui préparera leur nourriture spirituelle ? Le salut d'un seul homme compte moins que celui d'un grand nombre.* Il renonce donc, dans une certaine mesure, à essayer de sauver Léon pour reprendre ses devoirs pastoraux. Ce dernier thème ne figure plus dans la seconde rédaction, et déjà dans le premier il y a une amorce de perspective économie, implicite dans : *Que devons-nous penser des*

(43) WESTERINK, *Arethae Scripta Minora*, I, Teubner, 1968, pp. 1-12. L'éd. note : «prière laicos adloqui videtur». Cette hypothèse ne résiste pas à l'examen, v. KARLIN-HAYTER, *New Arethas Texts for the Historical Study of the Vita Euthymii*, in *Byz.*, 31 (1961), pp. 273-307 (*loc. cit.* 275-6). Je renvoie au commentaire seulement, l'éd. que j'y tentais de l'*Apologie* est très mauvaise, seule celle de Westerink est valable.

autres, de ceux qui [ont agi] non par ἐπιεικεία (44) — car où était leur akribie qui doit venir en premier lieu pour que l'autre se produise ? — tout à fait explicite avec : Serais-je au nombre des hommes équitables si je ne faisais aucune concession à celui qui supplie sans cesse et plaide l'impossibilité de faire ce qui lui est imposé ? Quelle présomption ! Basile ne serait pas d'accord, lui qui, par concession à la faiblesse humaine, accorde la cohabitation assortie de condamnation [à la pénitence canonique] (Ar., p. 9,3 = 17,17. Basile, canon 26).

Dans l'Apologie mise à jour, et telle qu'elle fut sans doute prononcée devant l'endemousa, le jour de la S. Michel («6 sept. aut 8 nov., a. 907 vel 908» Westerink, p. 13), d'une part Aréthas développe avec insistance le thème qu'il avait soulevé en passant dans la première rédaction : il faut commencer par le refus d'accepter le mariage anti-canonique ; c'est seulement s'il s'avère impossible de séparer les parties qu'on le tolérera. D'autre part, le salut de Léon n'est plus sacrifié ; il est même promu au statut de collaborateur d'Aréthas dans la lutte contre le relâchement des mœurs : *à y regarder de plus près... je n'ai pas vraiment manqué le but, qui n'ai échoué à redresser avec akribie qu'un seul... ou plutôt, pour dire vrai, qui n'ai pas échoué avec lui ; comment l'aurais-je, qui me le suis adjoint comme collaborateur ? celui qui fut l'origine de toute cette affaire, et prétexte pour les autres, celui-là à présent entreprend avec moi de faire disparaître le scandale (τὸ τόλμημα) (45).*

L'Apologie fut ensuite circulée à des intéressés qui n'avaient pas pu l'entendre au synode, des laïcs surtout, sans doute. Dans une lettre, écrite un peu plus tard (46) et adressée à un patrikios Thomas qui le critique, Aréthas affirme qu'il n'avait pas encore compris certaines

(44) οἱ οὐκ ἐπιεικεία — ποῦ γὰρ τὸ πρὸ ταύτης αὐτοῖς ἀκριβές, ἵνα κάκεινη φανῆ, ἀλλὰ ραστώνη βίου τὸ πᾶν τε καὶ ὄλον ἐκιβδήλευσαν ; p. 9, 20 — ἐπιεικῆς : par l'acceptation, qui s'impose ici, de «juste mais non conforme à la lettre de la loi» s'apparente à οἰκονόμος.

(45) ὀρθῶς δὲ σκοποῦντι ... οὐδὲ τέλεον ἂν ἀτυχήσας τοῦ σκοπομένου φανεῖν ὁ ἐφ' ἐνὶ μόνῳ τὸ πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν κατορθοῦν δεδυστυχηκῶς ... μᾶλλον δὲ ἀληθέστερον ἤδη ἐρεῖν, οὐδὲ τῷ ἐνὶ δεδυστύχηκα · πῶς γὰρ ὅς γε συνεργόν μοι καὶ τοῦτον προσείληφα ; ὅς γάρ τοι τῶν παρόντων ἀπάντων ὑπάρξας καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων μεγίστη κατέστη ῥοπή τε καὶ πρόφασις, οὗτος τὰ νῦν ἔμοιγε καὶ συναναιρῶν καὶ συναφανίζων τὸ τόλμημα, πῶς οὐ τῶν ἐμῶν θήραμα λόγων ; WESTERINK, 2, p. 18. Il s'agit vraisemblablement de l'engagement de Léon de légiférer contre les mariages successifs.

(46) Θωμᾶ πατρικίῳ περὶ ἡμῶν δῆθεν ἐπαποροῦντι, πῶς φημὶ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν τὰ πρὶν περὶ τῶν προκειμένων δόξαντα ποιῆσαι, ἄνθρωπος σοφὸς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν. WESTERINK 15, pp. 178-83.

choses quand l'*Apologie* fut composée, et de détailler sa position. Est-elle vraiment différente ? Pour la première fois, me semble-t-il, ce n'est plus le canon 80 de S. Basile qu'il cite, celui, effectivement, qui a trait aux «polygames», celui donc qui formellement convenait à Léon, mais le 26, où, à la différence du 80, il est dit clairement que si le couple refuse de se séparer, il faut les laisser ensemble. Et de citer le «chacun» et «chacune» de S. Paul qui étend ainsi à l'infini le nombre de mariages ; nous savons que ceci n'est pas compris comme il faut, bien que ce soit [dit] avec une louable simplicité ... 180, 5. Et encore : si tu décries le «chacun et chacune» à cause de l'illimité captieux dont tu le charges, pense aux Novatiens et à Chrysostome qui, avec sa parole philanthrope de «Aussi souvent que tu tombes, lève-toi et tu seras sauvé», semblait à beaucoup de Novatiens inviter les hommes à pécher ... sans restriction. Ils se trompaient : en poursuivant à l'aide de la sagesse infiniment diverse de Dieu ce qui profitait à chacun, Chrysostome apportait à tous la bonne nouvelle du salut, attribuant aux tempérants la récompense de la tempérance, promettant à ceux dont la vie est plus désordonnée le pardon accordé au repentir 181, 3-21. On dirait presque qu'il veut se convaincre lui-même.

Le divorce sera évidemment la forme la mieux documentée de l'économie, même pour les gens modestes, mais, si les canons de l'Église ancienne comme la correspondance de S. Théodore Studite, montrent bien que c'était une solution reconnue, de la pratique ne survit, jusqu'au XIII^e s., que peu de chose qui permette de distinguer la part faite à la loi et celle de la pastoralité⁽⁴⁷⁾. De cette époque, nous possédons quelques documents extrêmement vivants de la plume de Jean Apokaukos, métropolitain de Naupaktos de 1204 à 1233, et de Démétrios Chomatianos, archevêque d'Ochrid et Primat de Bulgarie de 1217 à 1235. Je me contenterai de comparer deux cas tout à fait analogues pris dans les deux dossiers⁽⁴⁸⁾.

Il s'agit, chaque fois, d'un mariage imposé à une femme non consentante. Chez Chomatianos c'est précisé, chez Apokaukos, malgré une

(47) Le synode de CP était, au XIV^e s., le tribunal devant lequel se plaidait le divorce, ce qui rend difficile l'appréciation de l'aspect pastoral, qui néanmoins n'avait vraisemblablement pas disparu.

(48) N. A. BEES, *Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes A. des Metropoliten von Naupaktos (in Aetolien)*, in *Byzantinisch-neugriech. Jahrb.* 21 (1976), pp. 55-243, N^o 7, *Σημείωμα διαζυγίου* ; Démétrios Chomatianos, ed. J. B. PITRA, *Analecta sacra et classica Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, VI (Rome, 1891) n^o 55.

présentation très littéraire, on va voir qu'il ne s'agit pas d'autre chose. Dans les deux cas les intéressés sont des paysans.

J'ai examiné le jugement de Chomatianos ailleurs (49) et me contenterai ici de le résumer : Théodore Chloropod porte plainte contre son épouse légitime, Irène Vodeniatou : elle n'est jamais restée plus de deux ou trois jours au domicile conjugal, mais s'encourt et se réfugie chez des «étrangers», parfois des mois durant. Il ne veut pas divorcer, mais qu'on oblige sa femme à respecter la cohabitation. Des témoignages il ressort qu'elle est éprise, depuis avant son mariage, d'un certain Georges Cholavrès ; ses parents reconnaissent qu'ils le savaient et l'ont mariée malgré elle (*ἄκουσαν*) à Chloropod. Interrogée, Irène reconnaît *sans rougir* qu'elle est éprise de Cholavrès. Chomatianos prononce le divorce pour cause d'adultère. Il donne donc, apparemment, gain de cause à Chloropod, tout en imposant la sentence dont celui-ci avait précisé qu'il n'en voulait pas, mais que la condamnée désirait de tout son cœur. Il fallait alors au moins citer Jérémie : *μη ἀνακάμπουσα ἐνακάμψει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτι · μαινομένη μανθήσεται* (3.1) !

Le divorce de Constantin et d'une autre Irène, modestes villageois eux aussi, fut prononcé par Apokaukos et validé par un long *hypomnema* venu jusqu'à nous. Quoiqu'essentiellement consacré aux réactions d'Apokaukos, ce document montre bien que le fond de l'affaire est parallèle à celle que nous venons de voir :

Les causes pour lesquelles certains mariages [quoique] conformes à la loi peuvent être légalement annulés sont enregistrées dans les codes... Mais la cause que j'inscris dans le présent hypomnema, cause pour laquelle Constantin et Irène, ... après avoir été légalement unis, ont été illégalement divorcés — l'aversion d'Irène pour son mari — ne se trouve dans aucun code ; les législateurs auraient-ils oublié de la retenir ? Ou — comme Solon tenait pour inconcevable qu'un fils frappe son père — ne pouvaient-ils imaginer qu'une femme ait de l'aversion pour son mari, alors que l'homme est la tête de la femme, ... et que, lors de la création de l'humanité ce lui fut donné comme loi d'être dominé par lui ? ... Toute femme doit amour et soumission à son mari. Au long des siècles quelques-unes ont été amenées à détester leurs maris ... et les causes des haines furent légères ou graves. Mais, ici, Irène a pour Constantin une aversion

(49) P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Indissolubility and the 'greater evil'. Three Thirteenth-c. Byzantine Divorce Cases, in Church and People in Byzantium* (Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester, 1986), Birmingham, 1990, pp. 87-105.

gratuite ; elle a non seulement refusé de partager sa couche pendant toute une année qui s'est écoulée depuis leur mariage, mais encore elle tient pour détestable de l'entendre ou de le rencontrer ... Le blâme des voisins n'a aucun poids, quant à nos représentants dans le village, leurs menaces ne sont à ses oreilles que des échos vains qu'elle entend avec un mépris évident. [Nos représentants] ont plusieurs fois enfermé [le couple] dans une cellule afin que Constantin couche avec elle, fût-ce contre son gré, mais elle lui mordait les doigts et lui déchirait les mains avec ses ongles, laissant des griffes et des morsures clairement visibles ; et de la sorte elle lui échappait, laissant Constantin tâtant le lit de ses bras vides (pour citer le poète). Bref, Constantin a supplié d'être séparé d'elle, reconnaissant qu'il avait connu le naufrage avec cette Irène.

Nous avons décrété le divorce de ces personnes, conscients qu'il serait plus facile d'unir le feu et l'eau que [d'obtenir] qu'Irène s'associe à Constantin ⁽⁵⁰⁾.

Bien que le divorce ait été prononcé dans les deux cas, ces deux affaires parallèles illustrent des approches plus fondamentalement différentes encore que celles qui se distinguent en refusant ou, au contraire, en accordant l'économie. Chomatianos, bien que chargé de l'application de la loi civile, reste *celui qui doit répondre de l'âme* du pécheur, alors que le métropolitain de Naupaktos est exclusivement au service de la loi et du droit : il souffre d'accorder ce divorce *illégal, inconnu du code*, — en effet *les législateurs n'ont pas imaginé qu'une femme puisse avoir de l'aversion pour son mari*. Mais *ni avertissements ni coercition n'ont eu prise sur Irène*. S'il accorde à Constantin ce divorce mal ficelé, c'est qu'il faut, malgré tout, qu'il soit sauvé des mains de cette femme dangereuse.

Le jugement de Chomatianos est beaucoup plus complexe : il donne gain de cause au plaignant, Chloropod — pour imposer une sentence dont Chloropod ne voulait pas mais que souhaitait la perdante. Pourquoi, alors, n'a-t-il pas simplement annulé le mariage pour non consentement d'une des parties ? Parce que, sûrement, s'il procédait ainsi, Irène se trouvait, non seulement libérée mais forte d'une fausse innocence. Il l'a condamnée comme adultère, alors que très certainement il n'y avait pas eu acte d'adultère : l'insistance sur les séjours chez des «étrangers» et sur le *désir de Cholavrès ancré dans son cœur* le montre à suffisance, et Chomatianos en était parfaitement conscient. Par contre,

(50) Trad. abrégée du texte d'Apocaukos, BEES 7, *Σημείωμα διαζυγίου*.

de l'adultère tel qu'il est défini dans l'Évangile, le *désir, adultère commis dans le cœur* (Math. 5.28), elle était certes coupable, et *l'avouait sans rougir*. Ses fugues répétées, toute cette révolte, n'étaient pas, non plus, exemptes de péché. Mais vouloir l'obliger à oublier Cholavrès et à accepter le mariage qu'on lui avait imposé risquait assurément de *l'acculer au désespoir, et de lâcher le frein sur une vie dissolue et dévergondée* alors que *le but, aux yeux de Dieu, et toute l'affaire du pasteur qui en a la charge est de ramener au bercail et guérir la brebis égarée et blessée par le serpent* ⁽⁵¹⁾. Chomatianos libéra donc Irène, et lui donna la possibilité d'aimer Cholavrès, sans péché dorénavant. Il ne la soumit pas aux peines prévues par le code, mais bien à celles prescrites par les canons pour l'adultère.

Seule *l'économie* et une priorité absolue donnée à la pastoralité par rapport au droit expliquent de façon satisfaisante les particularités du jugement rendu par Chomatianos. Il est *celui qui doit répondre de l'âme* de cette femme. Aussi met-il fin à la situation périlleuse où elle se débattait, mais en imposant des peines ecclésiastiques, qui ne suggèrent pas un sentiment, chez lui du moins, de l'inutilité de punir. C'est, d'après moi, une très belle *économie*, et qu'il serait injuste de traiter de *négative*.

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(51) Voir n. 4.

JOHN CINNAMUS, JOHN II COMNENUS AND THE HUNGARIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1127-1129

John II Comnenus is mentioned explicitly only five times by his sister Anna Comnena in her thorough biography of their father, Alexius I Comnenus. In her preface she praises her husband Nicephorus Bryennius at length and records that he accompanied John on campaigns (1). In her sixth book she records John's birth and provides a less than flattering description of her infant brother (2). In book twelve she records the birth of John's first children, a twin son and daughter (3). Later Anna records that at Devol in 1108 Bohemond swore to be loyal to the emperor Alexius and his "much-loved son, the emperor lord John, born in the purple chamber" (4). Finally, in her long account of Alexius's death, the emperor's designated heir John is mentioned only once (5).

Good reasons for Anna's virtually ignoring her brother have long been known to byzantinists. Before John's birth she had been betrothed to the *porphyrogenitus* Constantine Ducas, and fully expected to succeed her father to the throne as Constantine's empress. After Alexius's death, Anna and her mother plotted to replace the emperor with Anna's husband Nicephorus Bryennius (6). He did not comply and the coup failed. Consequently, Anna was banished from court

(1) ANNE COMNÈNE, *Alexiade*, prooimion, iii, B. LEIB, Paris, 1937, I, p. 5 (hereafter *Alexiad*).

(2) *Alexiad*, VI, viii, p. 63.

(3) *Alexiad*, XII, iv, p. 66.

(4) *Alexiad*, XIII, xii, pp. 126, 127, 137.

(5) *Alexiad*, XV, xi, p. 238.

(6) IOANNES ZONARAS, *Epitome Historiarum*, ed. L. DINDORF, Leipzig 1868-75, IV, pp. 246-7 ; NICETAE CHONIATAE, *Historia*, ed. J. VAN DIETEN, *CFHB* XI.1, Berlin, 1975, p. 10 ; *Alexiad*, I, pp. xviii-xx ; F. CHALANDON, *Les Comnène*, I. *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1081-1118)*, Paris, 1900, pp. 272-75 ; II. *Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180)*, Paris, 1912, pp. 3-6 and 16 ; B. LEIB, *Les silences d'Anna Comnène, ou ce que n'a pas dit l'Alexiade*, in *Bsl.*, XIX (1958), p. 7.

and forced to become a nun. She compiled the *Alexiad* in her exile, completing it during the reign of Manuel (7). Anna expresses her hostility towards John in a single sentence in book fourteen : “Thereafter we enjoyed peace until the end of his [Alexius’s] life, but with him all the benefits disappeared and his efforts came to nothing through the stupidity of those who inherited his throne” (8). She appears to want her reader to compare Alexius’s record as she has presented it with that of his son, which will be familiar to the reader.

Because Anna deliberately ignores John’s career under Alexius, we know little of his activities before his accession, when we can turn to the accounts presented by John Cinnamus (9) and Nicetas Choniates. It has generally been assumed that, in contrast to the silence and innuendo in Anna’s account, these two sources present a complementary and unbiased, if all too brief account of John’s reign (10). However, by examining one particular episode, John’s conflicts with the Hungarians between 1127 and 1129, it will be apparent that this is far from the case. In order to proceed it is necessary to present a translation of the relevant sections of both works (11).

CINNAMUS, 10-13

When he heard of these affairs (12), the emperor rushed to the Danube with his entire army, taking also an allied force (13) of Ligurian horsemen,

(7) *Alexiad*, XIV, vii, p. 175.

(8) *Alexiad*, XIV, iii, p. 159.

(9) *IOANNIS CINNAMUS, Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. MEINEKE, *CSHB*, Bonn, 1836.

(10) See most recently *ODB*, II, 1130, on Cinnamus, which claims : “his portrait of John II’s reign closely resembles that of Choniates ; later, however, the two historians diverge”. We will see below that, in fact they diverge significantly earlier.

(11) The following renderings are my own, but are not intended to replace the fine English translations which are available of both sources. The reader may, however, notice that in selecting words I have attempted to give greater relief to specific allusions, suggesting alternative shades of meaning. For comparisons see C. M. BRAND, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, New York, 1976. There is also a French translation by J. ROSENBLUM, *Jean Kinnamos Chronique*, Nice, 1972. See also H. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, Detroit, 1984.

(12) Stephen II had just sacked Belgrade and used the stones to construct the walls of Semlin on the opposite bank of the Danube.

(13) *συμμαχικὸν* (or *σύμμαχοι*) were auxiliaries or allies, but also a self-contained ethnic mercenary unit. See J. SHEPARD, *The use of Franks in eleventh-century Byzantium*, in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XV (1992), pp. 280-1.

whom our men call Lombards, and Turks. He pitched camp beside the river's banks and prepared for battle. However, Stephen's body was feeble, and he was being tended somewhere in the heart of his land. Yet he did not wish to be heedless, and sent troops as quickly as he was able, commanding that they prevent the emperor from crossing. The Hungarians carried out the orders. To neutralise this resistance the emperor connived as follows. He detached his allies, then ordered them along the river to a place called Tempon, where a hill which rose in the Hungarians' land ran as far as the river, where they should cross. He stayed with the remaining force of Romans opposite the fort of Chramon, giving a false impression that he would shortly cross from there. After this the Romans crossed without trouble ⁽¹⁴⁾. The Hungarians could not withstand their first assault, and hastily turned in flight. The pursuit lasted as far as the river, where the Hungarians dashed in throngs onto a bridge across the flood which collapsed ⁽¹⁵⁾. Many, swept away by the river,

(14) This sentence is a little obscure. Cinnamus has just informed us that John drew Hungarian attention from his ploy with the pretence (*δόκησιν*) that he was about to cross at Chramon. In the next sentence he informs us that indeed John did just that — hardly a sophisticated feint. If the Romans had fallen upon the Hungarian army we must imagine that some time had passed between John despatching the *συμμαχικὸν* and the battle; two incidents related in consecutive sentences. We must also further conjecture that the *συμμαχικὸν* crossed the river and took up a position beyond the Hungarians, facilitating the Roman crossing. This seems to require a little too much of the reader. However, when we remember that the text only survived in one 13th century MS, it is possible to offer an alternative interpretation. For *Ῥωμαῖοι* we should read *σύμμαχοι*, who had travelled to Tempon in order that they might cross the river without hindrance, while the enemy were distracted by the emperor's pretence. They might quite easily have fallen upon the Hungarians and driven them towards the river. We might also note that CHALANDON, *Les Comnène*, II, p. 59, presumes that the *σύμμαχοι* fell on the Hungarians from behind while his feint held them facing the Danube. Whatever the true reading, Cinnamus surely means to imply that the emperor had little personal involvement in the battle. Furthermore, we should beware of over-interpretation since, as we will see below, Choniates tells an entirely different story.

(15) The editor of the Bonn edition clearly believes that the Hungarians were driven towards a bridge over the river Danube and perished in the fast-flowing waters beneath when it collapsed (in the Latin translation MEINEKE even supplies the name Ister). This would indeed be the natural interpretation since no other river is mentioned by name, and Cinnamus refers only to the *ποταμός*. However, there was no bridge across the Danube at this point, so the river into which many Hungarians fell must have been a tributary. Therefore, it is possible that the Romans crossed the Danube and drove the fleeing Hungarians towards a fast-flowing bridged river which ran into the Danube. As we will see below, this is confirmed in the *Hungarian Chronicle*, which states that the fateful river was the Karas (Karasso/Caraşul) which flows into the Danube opposite the site of Braničevo. See *Chronici Hungarici Compositio Saeculi XIV*, ed. A. DOMANOVSKY, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. E. SZENTPÉTERY, Budapest, 1937, I, p. 441. Brand does not record this in his translation, but seems to prefer this explanation, referring to *a* river, not the river (i.e. the Danube).

disgorged their spirits, but many fell into the Romans' hands, including Akous and Keled ⁽¹⁶⁾, who were very distinguished men among the Hungarians. After this success the emperor took the fort of Chramon without resistance, and immediately crossed back into Roman lands. He strengthened the city of Braničevo with a garrison of troops under the command of Kourtikios, and returned to Constantinople. Shortly afterwards the Hungarians besieged and took Braničevo, killing some of the Romans within, and capturing others. There were some who sought salvation in flight. The emperor was infuriated by this and convicted Kourtikios on a charge of treason, lashing him many times on the back although (they say) he did not desert the walls until the whole enemy army charged into the city and put buildings to the torch.

At this time the Serbs, a Dalmatian race, conspired to revolt and subjected to themselves the fortress of Ras. For this reason the emperor avenged himself similarly on Kritoplos, who had been charged with the defence of that fortress. He led him through the marketplace wearing women's clothes and mounted on an ass. Returning to Braničevo, the second time, he set about rebuilding it in haste. Since this endeavour took some time, the army began to suffer severely from the winter weather and dearth of provisions. Learning of this, the Hungarian king resolved to cross the Danube as soon as possible and launch a surprise assault on them. However, in the land of the Hungarians was a certain woman, Latin by birth, who was exceptionally wealthy and distinguished. She sent word to the emperor of what was to take place. Because he was unable to engage them in battle with an equivalent army, since as related his troops were depleted by disease and dearth of provisions, he reinforced the city where possible and departed. Furthermore, in order to avoid the Hungarian army, he passed through the impenetrable and craggy region known as the Evil Stairs. There the Hungarian army swooped without warning upon the regiments guarding the rear, but inflicted no injury upon the Romans. Having collected sections of the awnings which hung in the imperial tent, which had been discarded through lack of pack animals, they departed, and the army of Romans escaped unscathed.

CHONIATES, 17-18

During the summer season the Hungarians crossed the Danube and sacked Branitevo. They demolished the walls and transported the stones to Semlin. They also plundered Sofia, breaking and tearing up earlier peace treaties. The secret reason for this conflict was the fact that Almos, the brother of Stephen who ruled the Hungarians, had fled to the emperor and had been welcomed cordially. The professed and specious reason was the [Hungarians']

(16) G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, Berlin, 1958, II, pp. 59-60 and 158.

accusation that citizens of Braničevo had assaulted and robbed Hungarians who had travelled to the locality to trade, committing heinous crimes against them.

Since this evil had erupted unexpectedly while the emperor was dwelling at Philíppopolis, he considered the predicament scrupulously and resolved to expel the Hungarians from there. He spent some time preparing his household troops to defend against the enemy, then sailed equipped and swiftly-propelled ships along the Danube from the Black Sea, falling upon the foe by both land and water. He then crossed the river in the general's trireme, ferrying the army to the far shore where the cavalry dispersed the Hungarian host with their couched lances.

Demonstrating his remarkable endurance he remained in enemy lands and captured Frangochorion, the richest land of the Hungarians which lies between the rivers Sava and Danube with plains suited to driving horses. He also took Semlin and attacked Chramon, from which he wrested great spoils. After further struggles with this race, he offered them peace, and compelled those other Barbarian peoples at the western frontier of the Roman Empire whom he had so often defeated in battle to become allies.

It is clear from the translations presented above that the accounts composed by Cinnamus and Choniates diverge dramatically when describing John II's encounters with Hungarian forces between 1127 and 1129 (17). Cinnamus seems to offer a full and plausible account. However, his description is replete with allusions to John's weaknesses as a commander. Moreover, he divides the campaign into two episodes. The first episode begins with the author implying that John was panicked by a surprise Hungarian attack and marched straight to the Danube. Next, Cinnamus reports that the emperor was not met by the Hungarian king, who was recovering from an illness many miles from the Danube. This fact is not mentioned by Choniates, and had little effect on the outcome. Therefore, I would suggest that Cinnamus's intention in referring to Stephen's absence and weakness is to diminish John's victory. Third, Cinnamus implies that John was not personally involved in the initial, and decisive victory achieved by the Lombard and Turk mercenaries. In fact the only martial endeavour directed by John in Cinnamus's account is the capture of the fort at Chramon which fell "without resistance" after which, Cinnamus states, the emperor immediately recrossed the river into his own lands. He delayed only to strengthen Braničevo with a garrison under a certain Kourtikios.

(17) A point noted by CHALANDON, *Les Comnène*, II, p. 58.

Cinnamus records that a second episode was initiated “a short time after” by the Hungarians launching a renewed attack on Braničevo. He reports that, rather than meeting the Hungarians in battle John’s first response was to humiliate the commander, Kourtikios, who had fought bravely to prevent the fortress being captured. At this point Cinnamus records that John dealt with the commander of Ras in a similarly humiliating fashion, but provides no further information on John’s dealings with the Serbs (18). The cumulative effect of Cinnamus’s innuendo is to imply that John acted as a vengeful and spiteful coward. Moreover, in an aside he suggests that John was criticised for his actions at the time (19). Furthermore, in devoting precious time to acts of vengeance John is shown to have neglected his men and precipitated his own final humiliation. The Hungarians took heart from the fact that John’s troops were stuck at the Danube, demoralised by the cold and suffering through lack of provisions. They set out to renew their assault. John was only saved through luck, as word of the imminent attack reached him, allowing him time to retreat. If this were not shameful enough, John’s informant was a both a woman and a Latin.

(18) Choniates seems to allude to unrest among the Serbs at this time. However, this may refer to an episode which took place several years before the Hungarian Campaign, which Cinnamus fails to record. Clearly the insertion here is to juxtapose this incident with the Kourtikios story, thereby highlighting a trait in John’s treatment of his commanders which the author clearly intends his audience to condemn. CHONIATES, 16, records that John fought a successful campaign against the Serbs shortly after his victory against the Cumans in 1122. This is corroborated by a twelfth-century Latin source. *Letopis Popa Dukljanina*, ed. F. ŠIŠIĆ, Belgrade-Zagreb, 1928, pp. 368-9: “After the death of King Vladimir, Queen Jaquinta’s son George claimed the realm. In the second year of his reign he wanted secretly to arrest Branislav’s sons. However, he achieved little because they were made aware of his plans and fled to Dyrrachium and their uncle Goyslav. Only Grubessa was captured and put in gaol in Scutari. At that time the *Dux* Calo-John Cumanus mustered a mighty army and marched with Goyslav and his nephews against King George. The king assembled his people and prepared them for battle. As the battle raged, a division of King George’s army fell. Many were slaughtered and more still captured. The king and some of his entourage escaped and fled to Oblik. After this the *Dux* and his men attacked and captured the city of Skodra. There they released Grubessa from custody, and on imperial orders the people instituted him as king. The *Dux* relinquished command of the army to him and returned to Dyrrachium”. The fact that John is called Cumanus seems to confirm that his victory against the Cumans was a very recent event. See also CHALANDON, *Les Comnène*, II, pp. 69-73.

(19) (*φασίν*), translated as “they say” may well refer to a *ψόγος* or *φάμουσα*, a censorious tract or pamphlet. These were certainly written by critics of the Comnenian emperors. For example, see *Alexiad*, XIII, i, p. 89.

The emperor fled the region through the Evil Stairs to avoid meeting the Hungarian army. However, the Hungarians followed and fell upon his rearguard. Although they inflicted no harm on the troops the Hungarians disgraced John by stealing the hangings from the imperial tent, which the emperor had left behind in his ill-prepared haste.

Choniates directly contradicts Cinnamus's account. He informs us that John took time considering and preparing his forces to meet the Hungarians, then summoned his fleet to prepare the ground for a land assault. Both facts are fully corroborated by the *Hungarian Chronicle*, which further recounts how the Hungarians' ships had been bombarded with Greek Fire⁽²⁰⁾. Choniates also informs us that the capture of Chramon was part of a campaign which involved several engagements *after* the fall of Semlin. Writing some years after Cinnamus, Choniates is adamant that John did not retire, but stayed on in enemy territory

(20) *Chronici Hungarici*, 439-42: "Meanwhile the empress in Constantinople, the daughter of King Ladislas named Piroška, sent word to King Stephen telling him that the king of Hungary was her [liege]man. Even the emperor chastised her for speaking out of turn. However, when he had heard this the king considered it a terrible slight and mustered an army. He launched a fierce invasion of Greek lands and devastated several Greek cities with fire and the sword, petrifying all the cities of that region. All kings were afraid of King Stephen, as they would fear a bolt of lightning. In fact, even squalling children were coerced into silence by the mention of Stephen's name. The king had with him 700 Frankish troops, as he ravaged Bulgaria and with whose aid he destroyed the walls of Greek fortresses. When the emperor did not ride out to meet him in battle, he sent an insulting message to the Greek emperor, which stated that he was not worthy to be called emperor, nor even king, but only a wretched old mid-wife, because only such a crone would be so ineffectual. The emperor replied to him thus: "Undoubtedly the king will believe that he is in the presence of a mid-wife when I cut off his manhood like an umbilical cord". For this reason the emperor sent a mighty force against Hungary. Arriving, they crossed into Hungary at Haram [Chramon]. The Hungarians were unable to prevent them because the Greeks contrived to set the Hungarians' ships alight with sulphurous fires, burning them in their own waters. Therefore, the king sent the elite from his whole kingdom against the Greeks under the command of Setephel. On arrival they fought the Greeks on the banks of the river Karas, opposite Braničevo. The hand of God was with the Greeks, and the Hungarians could not resist them. The slaughter which took place was so great that its like has rarely been seen. The river Karas was so infused with human blood that it seemed to run with gore alone. The warriors began to throw corpses into the river and fled across them, crossing the river as if it were a bridge. However, the Hungarians were slaughtered like cattle, since no-one could redeem them from the hands of the Greeks. Indeed the *comes* Ciz [Akous] and many other fine soldiers were buried. After this the emperor and king consulted through trusted messengers, and sailed to an island near the city of Braničevo to negotiate. For a long time the rulers exchanged accusations and excuses, before they finally agreed a firm peace and returned to their lands".

and showed remarkable endurance (21). His is a very definite statement, and his references to the stamina and endurance of the emperor bring to mind the twenty-two verse encomia of Theodore Prodromus which constantly stress elements of John's *andreia* (22). There is no evidence that John intended for his conquest of Frangochorion to be permanent or to involve occupation or annexation of any lands beyond the Danube (23). His long-term plans did not involve a protracted dispute with Stephen II, who seemed keen to make political capital by raiding Byzantine lands. For this reason the whole episode, as portrayed by Choniates, smacks of a carefully orchestrated show of strength. As such, it was a considerable success for John, who forced the Hungarians to accept peace on his terms.

Cinnamus's failure to record John's series of victories and the treaty he concluded beyond the Danube is remarkable when one considers how thorough are his accounts of all subsequent campaigns in this area. He generally provides considerable detail which is missing from Choniates's account. Moreover, his encomiasts would have made sure that John's victories in Frangochorion would have been well known in Byzantium. It is therefore possible that Cinnamus was quite deliberately drawing attention to the emperor's departure mid-campaign, and implying that this took place before the series of victories commemorated in contemporary panegyrics and later picked-up on by Choniates. Therefore, we must seek an explanation for this deliberate obfuscation.

I believe that the reason for Cinnamus's silences and innuendo is similar to that which influenced Anna Comnena, and is comparable to that which informs Choniates's abundant praise for John. The three authors we have considered, albeit briefly, all had peculiar reasons for writing. We might also say, therefore, that each work has its own (hidden) agenda. Choniates had reasons for praising John's western policy. His strong pointed leadership and willingness to make peace

(21) So adamant in fact that one must consider that he was aware of Cinnamus's implied criticism and sought to correct it. This raises the thorny question of whether Choniates read Cinnamus and suggests that the answer should be yes.

(22) *Theodoros Prodromos. Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. HORANDNER, Vienna, 1974, nos. 1-21, 24. P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 419-20, stresses the importance John's encomiasts attributed to the *andreia* of the emperor. Indeed, John was the emperor who revived the ceremony of the imperial triumph in 1133. On that occasion four encomia were delivered each celebrating the ideology of warfare and the qualities of the emperor as leader and blood-letter.

(23) F. MAKK, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*, Budapest, 1989, p. 25

for the good of trade and political stability could be juxtaposed with Manuel's excesses, which Choniates condemns so pointedly and often (24). In contrast, Cinnamus's history was very much the official biography of Manuel I Comnenus, perhaps the most flamboyant of Byzantine emperors. His account must be seen in the context of the voluminous imperially sponsored works which made Manuel the "most highly eulogised emperor in all Byzantine literature" (25). In this context it is fruitful to compare Cinnamus's account of John's Hungarian campaign and his treatment of Manuel's first encounters with the Magyars in 1150 (26).

Manuel first engaged a Hungarian force at the battle of Tara. He did not hide behind his *symmachoi*, but threw himself into the thick of the battle, throwing fifteen of his foe to the ground with a single thrust of his lance (27). The battle narrative culminates with Manuel's individual combat with the commander of the Hungarian detachment Bachkinos (28). Manuel returned to the Danube "before he had even wiped the dust of battle from his face, and still covered in warm beads of sweat" (29). He launched a punitive attack in Frangochorion, the very region that John had swept through unmentioned by Cinnamus. However, now the author provides a detailed narrative which he concludes with extravagant claims (30). We should also note that this episode took place while the Hungarian king was in Galich. However, while Cinnamus had stressed Stephen II's illness and absence to imply that this facilitated John's victory, he uses Geza II's absence to emphasise Manuel's quick thinking and introduce the notion that Manuel was faced not only by a healthy royal opponent, but one who had recently enjoyed victories in Russia.

(24) CHONIATES, p. 203 ; MAGDALINO, *Empire*, p. 9.

(25) P. MAGDALINO, *The Phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos*, in *BF*, 13 (1988), p. 179. Also MAGDALINO, *Empire*, pp. 20-1.

(26) For which see P. STEPHENSON, *Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II ; a revised context and chronology for Hungaro-Byzantine relations, 1148-1155*, in *Bsl.*, LV (1994), pp. 251-77. Also MAKK, *Árpáds*, pp. 42-62.

(27) CINNAMUS, pp. 110-11.

(28) MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 85.

(29) CHONIATES, p. 92.

(30) For example, CINNAMUS, p. 114, on Manuel's hostage taking : "Then one could see a whole generation marching as captives and entire races in motion and emigrating. Indeed, the whole island [sic] which the Sava and Danube rivers create as they flow down from the Alps to Hungary, separating in the highlands and flowing together once more after a wide arc, was left barren and bereft of inhabitants".

Despite Cinnamus's concentration on Manuel's martial zeal, it is clear that the emperor's principal concern in 1150 was to achieve an equitable settlement at the Danube which would allow him to concentrate on other matters. This remained his intention over the next five years (31). His choice of field headquarters serves to corroborate this point. Manuel was stationed in Pelagonia for much of the period 1150-55 (32). Pelagonia, the region near modern Bitola, was a little way south-east of Ochrid, offering easy communications with Dyrrachium as well as a passage into Raška via Skopje. This was not a base that Manuel would have chosen if he viewed Hungary as a major threat or the target for his expansionist ambitions. I have argued elsewhere that his presence in Pelagonia was dictated by his commitment to Italian affairs (33). However, the fact that Cinnamus continues to devote detailed narratives to Manuel's Hungarian activities surely corresponds more closely to an image of the emperor that he considered appropriate to this period, than to the reality suggested by other sources. It is clear that the emperor himself sought to propagate this image by celebrating his victories over the Serbs and Hungarians with triumphal processions through the streets of Constantinople out of proportion to their significance (34).

The fact that Cinnamus concentrates on Manuel's Hungarian campaigns can therefore be explained in terms of the possibilities these encounters offered to the biographer, not least for tales of individual deeds of valour performed by the emperor (35). I would argue further

(31) STEPHENSON, *Manuel I and Geza II*, pp. 275-7.

(32) Manuel seems to have been in Pelagonia on at least three distinct occasions. CINNAMUS, p. 126, relates that John, the son of Manuel's dead older brother Andronicus, was wounded during a mock-battle in Pelagonia. Manuel compensated him for the loss of his eye with the title of *protovestiarius* and rank of *protosebastus*. Andronicus was aggrieved by this, which evidently challenged his own position at court. This was probably in 1151, since Andronicus' adventures in Cilicia commenced in 1152. Manuel was certainly in Pelagonia in 1153, since he received a letter from Wibald of Stablo at his camp, see *Wibaldi Epistulae*, ed. P. JAFFÉ, *Monumentia Corbeiensia*, I, Berlin, 1864, p. 561. On the third occasion Manuel avoided Andronicus's assassination attempt during an overnight hunting trip, see CINNAMUS, p. 127. This must have been late in 1154, since it would coincide with Geza's attack on Braničevo, CINNAMUS, p. 131.

(33) STEPHENSON, *Manuel I and Geza II*, p. 276; CINNAMUS, pp. 123-4; CHALANDON, *Les Comnène*, II, p. 410.

(34) CINNAMUS, p. 118; CHONIATES, pp. 90 and 93; PRODROMUS, pp. 348-62.

(35) MAGDALINO, *Empire*, p. 176, n. 12: "The close connection between epideictic rhetoric and narrative history in the Greek sources of this period is crucial to their interpretation".

that Cinnamus's treatment of John II's Hungarian campaign of 1127-1129 was intended as an invitation to the reader to compare the father's remote-control victories, which were tempered with acts of spite and cowardice, with his son's robust leadership, punctuated with individual acts of valour. This subtle and previously unnoted denigration of John's success at the Danube sits well with a few pertinent comments by Paul Magdalino, who has highlighted the need to be aware of subtle allusions employed by Cinnamus. The author's own knowledge and the knowledge he took for granted in his intended readership (knowledge denied to his modern readers) meant he could employ such subtlety to make his case ⁽³⁶⁾.

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(36) A similar scenario has been suggested by P. MAGDALINO, *Isaac Sebastokrator (III), John Axouch, and a case of mistaken identity*, in *BMGS*, 11 (1987), pp. 207-14, for an earlier incidence of disparity between the two principal sources. It is revealing that this incident early in Manuel's reign is also concerned with a comparison of the relative merits of John II and Manuel, which erupted into a violent quarrel between *sebastoi*.

I would like to dedicate this short paper to Vladimír Vavřínek, for providing hospitality and encouragement, and gallantly undertaking to publish several of my musings on the Comneni and Hungary.

THE DEDICATION OF THE CHORA MONASTERY IN THE TIME OF ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS (*)

Associated through its long history with the Constantinopolitan court, the monastery of Chora was restored and decorated by its *ktetor* Theodore Metochites, a prime minister of Andronikos II Palaiologos, between 1313 and 1321 (figs. 1-3) (1). During this period it continued to enjoy privileges and play an important role in the religious and political life of the Constantinopolitan court. In spite of the fact that its *ktetor* Metochites, intellectuals of his time, and visitors left numerous accounts of the history of the monastery, none of the accounts mentioned the real dedicatory name for the monastery and its main *katholikon*. In these sources the monastery is usually called by its popular name of Chora.

This paper will draw attention to a poem attributed to Manuel Philes which will provide evidence on the dedicatory name of this important monastery and its main *katholikon* (2). Although this poem has been

(*) I would like to thank I. Ševčenko for sharing the information about the poem of Manuel Philes. I also would like to thank C. Asdracha and Lee Sherry for translation of the poem, and I. MacCoull for reading and editing this article. My special thanks goes to Nicholas Oikonomides and A.-M. Talbot for their helpful suggestions.

(1) I. ŠEVČENKO, *Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time*, in *The Kariye Djami* New York-Princeton, 1975, vol. 4, pp. 19-33 ; also in P. A. UNDERWOOD, *The Kariye Djami*, New York, 1966, I, pp. 4-7, 14-15 ; F. I. SHMIT, *Kakhrie-dzami*, IRAIK, II (Sofia-Munich, 1906), I, pp. 3-46.

(2) PAPAGEORGIU, *Aí Σέρραι καὶ τὰ προάστεια, τὰ περὶ τὰς Σέρρας καὶ ἡ μονὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου*, BZ, 3 (1894), pp. 325-29 ; C. MANGO, *The Brazen House*, Copenhagen, 1959, pp. 138ff. ; ŠEVČENKO, *Theodore Metochites*, p. 27 and note 61 ; H. BELTING, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft*, Heidelberg, 1970, pp. 46-47. The story of this poem is unusual. The poem was found in the eleventh-century Gospel book which was in the monastery of John Prodromos in Serras ; Papageorgiou, who published the poem, mentioned that it was lost by that time. Although the author of the article misinterpreted the poem, its heroine was in fact



FIG. 1. — The Kariye Camii. West facade. *Photo : Dumbarton Oaks.*

known to historians, it has received only marginal attention, and the relevance of this poem to the dedication of the church of Chora and the monastery has been overlooked. In the first part of this paper we will review the data about the name of the monastery prior to Metochites' foundation. In the second part we will discuss the poem of the Manuel Philes and its relevance to the Metochites foundation. In dealing with the question of the dedicatory name it becomes apparent

correctly identified much later by Mango and Ševčenko as Maria Palaiologina. Both authors simply assumed in their footnote that Maria Palaiologina donated the Gospel book to Chora. This manuscript has in fact come to light in the library of the Dujev center in Sofia: I am grateful to Ihor Ševčenko for this information. Professor Ševčenko also told me that he saw the manuscript and the poem in the Dujev center recently and attributed this poem to Manuel Philes. So I use his attribution in this article.



FIG. 2. — The Kariye Camii. View from the east. *Photo : Dumbarton Oaks.*

that little is known about the tradition of the use of dedicatory names for ecclesiastical foundations in Byzantium and the role they played in the society in different historical periods. Therefore, in the final part of this paper I will examine the dedicatory name of the Chora Monastery in the context of the dedicatory pattern of ecclesiastical foundations during the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos.

*The Monastery's Name
and its Church Buildings Prior to Metochites' Ktetorship*

The history of the name "Chora" was examined by Theodore Shmit and later reviewed by Paul Underwood (3). These studies showed that

(3) SHMIT, *Kakhrie-dzhami*, pp. 3-46 ; UNDERWOOD, *Kariye Djami*, I., pp. 3-16.



FIG. 3. — The Enthroned Christ and the donor. *Photo : Dumbarton Oaks.*

the name Chora, under which the monastery is well known until the present, was a sort of toponym which became a popular name for the monastery, and it is this name that has been used throughout the entire history of the monastery. The term had multiple meanings, including a land, a country, or an estate in the country. Because the monastery of Chora is situated outside the Theodosian walls, it was considered to be in the suburbs of Constantinople ; the monastery's location could play a role in the use of its popular name.

Shmit, Underwood, and Robert Ousterhout have also reviewed literary sources referring to the church buildings in the monastery prior to Metochites' foundation (4). It would be useful briefly to summarize

(4) SHMIT, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-46 ; UNDERWOOD, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 6 ; R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, Washington, D.C., 1987, pp. 4-36.

the evidence. The earliest information about Chora concerns the relics of St. Babylas, martyred in 298 A.D. and brought to the city of Byzantium shortly thereafter; the place of the relics was associated with the location of the monastery of Chora⁽⁵⁾. From the time of Justinian four churches or chapels have been recorded, those of St. Anthimos of Nicomedia, the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, St. Michael, and the Theotokos⁽⁶⁾. Ousterhout brought forward archaeological evidence supporting a sixth-century, possibly Justinianic date for the earliest construction on the site of the main church at Kariye⁽⁷⁾. Scholars have suggested that because after the ninth century only three churches are mentioned in the monastery — that of St. Anthimos, the chapel of St. Ignatios, and the Church of the Forty Martyrs — the church of the Theotokos was probably in a poor state of preservation by then since it was not mentioned in the sources⁽⁸⁾. A fourteenth-century historian, Nicephoros Gregoras, indicated that a mother-in-law of the Emperor Alexios Comnenos, Maria Ducaena, built a new church in the monastery on the same place where Justinian church of the Virgin was⁽⁹⁾. This latter church was apparently rebuilt in the twelfth century, as scholars suggested, by the Sebastocrator Isaac Komnenos⁽¹⁰⁾. Isaac prepared his tomb in the narthex of the main church, but later changed his plans and built another burial church of the Theotokos Kosmosotira at Viros (modern Ferrai) in Thrace where he transferred his tomb, icons, and furnishings. This is where

(5) Basic source for the history of this period is the *Life of St. Theodore*: Ch. LOPAREV, *De s. Theodoro (504-595) monacho hegumenoque Chorensi*, Saint-Petersburg, 1903, pp. 1-16. For its commentary see SHMIT, *Kakhrie-dzhami*, p. 4ff., 11-18, and 27-29; R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique, 3: Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1953, p. 60. See also A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture*, London, 1912, pp. 288-90; UNDERWOOD, *Kariye Djami*, pp. 3-8; OUSTERHOUT, *Kariye Camu*, pp. 12-14.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) OUSTERHOUT, *Kariye Camu*, pp. 12-14; M. B. CUNNINGHAM, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos*, Belfast, 1990, pp. 107-109.

(8) SHMIT, *Kakhrie-dzhami*, pp. 33, 34.

(9) PG, CXLVIII, col. 653. For architectural aspects see OUSTERHOUT, *Kariye Camu*, pp. 15-20.

(10) OUSTERHOUT, *Kariye Camu*, pp. 20-32. See also L. PETIT, *Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos*, *Izvestija russkogo arxeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*, 13 (1908), pp. 17-75; English edition of this typikon is in preparation by N. Ševčenko. N. P. ŠEVČENKO, *The Tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai*, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 29/2 (1984), pp. 135-139.

he was eventually buried. Although the history of the monastery of Chora is vague, it is important that scholars have identified four phases in the construction of the main church prior to the church of Metochites (11). It is possible that the name of Justinian's main church remained the same; this church was very important since it was rebuilt several times on the same spot during the history of the monastery. The question this foundation raises is whether its dedicatory name remained unchanged throughout its history. With regard to the foundation of Metochites, matters become even more mysterious.

Underwood suggested that the name Chora in the fourteenth century was used to denote Christ, if not also the Virgin (12). Since the name Chora appears in the inscriptions which labeled images of Christ and the Virgin in the mosaic decoration of the main church, the dedication of the church further puzzled scholars. Underwood assumed that the monastery and the church were dedicated to both Christ and the Virgin (13). Among known churches and monasteries in Constantinople listed by Janin, however, there is no monastery dedicated to both Christ and the Virgin (14). Nor do we find such a dedication among the church foundations of the Palaiologan aristocracy during the time of Andronikos II Palaiologos. It suggests that dedication of the monastery and katholikon to both Christ and the Virgin, if existed, would be a rare instance (15).

The Poem of Manuel Philes and its Relevance to the Dedicatory Name of the Chora Monastery and its 'Katholikon'

One important source of information, however, has been overlooked in the discussion of the history of the monastery: it is recorded in a poem written by Manuel Philes for Maria Palaiologina, a half-sister

(11) OUSTERHOUT, *Kariye Camu*, pp. 3-36.

(12) UNDERWOOD, *Kariye Djami*, pp. 27, 28. For recent study of inscriptions labeled images of Christ and the Virgin in Chora: N. TETERIATNIKOV, *Metochites' "Place in the Land of the Living" in His Monastery Chora, Constantinople*, in *Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers*, 19 (1993), pp. 27, 28.

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) R. JANIN, *La géographie*, I, 3, pp. 556-582.

(15) This subject needs to be examined further for other regions of Byzantium and for different periods. For example, in the tenth century St. Nikon Metanoieite founded a church in Sparta which he dedicated to Christ, the Mother of God, and S. KYRIAKE, *The Life of Saint Nikon*, tr. by D. F. SULLIVAN, Brookline, Mass., 1987, pp. 114-117.

of Andronikos II Palaiologos and illegitimate daughter of the emperor, Michael VIII (16). In fact this poem is dedicated to the Virgin of Chora :

“† Στίχοι ἱκετήριοι πρὸς τὴν Δέσποιναν Παρθένον καὶ Θεομήτορα τὴν Χωρινὴν ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης δεσποίνης κυρᾶς Μαρίας Κομνηνῆς τῆς Παλαιολογίνης.

† Ἔδει μὲν ἴσως τῇ παναχράντῳ Κόρῃ,
τῇ παρθένῳ καὶ σῶμα καὶ τὴν καρδίαν,
τῇ τῶν Χερουβιμ καὶ Σεραφῖμ κυρία,
τῇ τῶν ἀγίων ἀγιωτέρα νόων
ἀξίαν ἀντίχαριν ἀποτιννύειν
ὑπὲρ τοσαύτης εὐμενοῦς εὐσπλαγχνίας
καὶ τῆς ἀφράστου πρὸς Χριστὸν παρρησίας,
τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτῆς καὶ Θεὸν καὶ Δεσπότην,
ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης τῆς βροτῶν σωτηρίας
ἣν καθ' ἐκάστην δεικνύει Χριστωνύμοις,
οἷα μόνῃ σώζουσα καὶ λυτρομένη
τούτους ἀπάσης τῶν ἐναντίων βλάβης.
Ἔδει προσάξει πλὴν μετ' εὐνοίας ὄσης
βασιλικὸν τὸ δῶρον ὡς Βασιλίδι
ἀνθ' ὧν παρ' αὐτῆς ἀπέλαυον χαρίτων,
ἀνθ' ὧν μωρίων ἐκλυτροῦμαι κινδύνων
τῇ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ κραταιᾷ δυνάμει
τῆς πανσθενουργοῦ καὶ πανυμνήτου Κόρης ·
ἀλλὰ τίς ἰσχύσειεν οὕτως ἀξίως
τὸ κοσμολαμπὲς δεξιῶσασθαι φάος,
τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ὑπερηρμένην νόων ;
Ἐφ' ὧπερ ὡς ἔχοιμι πλὴν μετὰ δέους,
μετὰ δακρύων καὶ καθαρᾶς καρδίας,
μεθ' ὧνπερ ἠυπόρησα πέπλων χρυσέων
καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τήνδε βίβλον προσφέρω
τῷ σεβασμίῳ τῆς παναχράντου δόμῳ
Χώραν καλεῖν εἴωθεν ἅπας τὸν δόμον ·
αὐτῆς συνάρσει τῆσδ' ἐπὶ γῆς τῆς ξένης
ταύτην τυχοῦσα σὺν ἀκοσμία τόσῃ,
εἰ καὶ λίθων ἦν ἔνδοθεν σὺν μαργάραις

(16) PAPAGEORGIOU, *Σέρραι*, pp. 325-329.

ὡσπερ διαυγῆς στιλπνότης ἢ χρυσίον
 τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας ὑπερβάλλον
 οἱ Κυριακοὶ χρύσειοι θεῖοι λόγοι,
 δι' ὧν πᾶσα γέγηθε πιστῶν καρδία,
 δι' ὧν κόσμος σέσωστο Σατὰν τῆς πλάνης,
 πλὴν ἀλλὰ κοσμήσασα ταύτην σὴν πόθω,
 καθὼσπερ εἶχον ἐκ χρυσοῦ σὺν ἀργύρῳ,
 ἐκ χρυσοῦφοῦς κοκκινοχρόου πέπλου,
 ἐκ καρδιακοῦ τοῦ πόθου Σοὶ προσφέρω,
 Δέσποινα Μῆτερ τοῦ Θεανθρώπου Λόγου,
 Μαρία λάτρις οἰκέτις Σοῦ γνησία
 Παλαιολόγων ἐκ γένους κατηγμένη,
 ἢ τῆς Ἐώας βασιλὶς τῆς ἀπάσης.
 Ἄλλ' εὐμενῶς μοι, παμβασιλὶς, προσέχου
 ἃ Σοὶ προσάγω σὺν ζεούσῃ καρδία,
 εἰ καὶ τέως πέφυκεν οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν,
 καὶ πρὸς μονὰς σκήνου με τὰς οὐρανίους,
 πρὸς τὴν ἀγήρω τῆς Ἐδὲμ κατοικίαν

Verses of supplication to the Empress Virgin and Deipara of Chora as if spoken in person by the very pious empress kyra-Maria Komnena Palaiologina :

It was equally appropriate <for me> to repay
 a worthy return of a favor to the all-pure Maiden,
 virgin both in body and heart,
 to the mistress of the Cherubim and Seraphim,
 to the one more holy than the holy angels,
 in return for much favorable mercy
 and for her unspeakable freedom of speech before Christ,
 her son, both God and Lord,
 in return for her love of the salvation of human beings,
 which she shows every day to Christians,
 since she alone saves and redeems
 them from every harm of their enemies.
 It was appropriate <for me> to bring, yet with great affection,
 a gift of royal character, as if to an empress,
 for recompensation of the goods I enjoyed from her,
 for recompensation of the innumerable dangers I am saved from
 by the alliance and the mighty strength
 of the all-powerful and ever-praised Maiden.

But who would be able to so worthily
 honor the world-illuminating light,
 the one elevated above all angels?
 Given that, as best I can, yet with fear,
 with tears and pure heart,
 along with the golden veils that I richly possessed,
 I also offer this sacred book
 to the venerable house of the all-pure <Maiden>.
 (Everyone is accustomed to call the house, Chora).
 With her assistance on this alien <i.e. mortal> earth
 <I> found it with utterly no ornamentation,
 although the interior was of <precious> stones along with pearls,
 just like sparkling glitter of goldness
 which surpasses the rays of the sun,
 <namely> the Lord's golden divine words,
 through which every heart of the faithful rejoices,
 through which the world has been saved from the error of Satan.
 But yet, having had this <book> decorated out of desire,
 as best I could, with gold along with silver,
 with a red-colored veil woven with gold,
 <o> mistress mother of the God-Man Word
 I offer <it> from my heart's desire to you,
 <I> Maria, your genuine maid-servant,
 descended from the family of the Palaiologoi,
 <I> the empress of the whole Orient.
 But with favor toward me, Empress of all, pay attention
 to what I bring you with burning heart,
 although at present it is not of equal value.
 And make me come to dwell in the heavenly mansions,
 in the never-ageing house of Eden ⁽¹⁷⁾.

From the poem we learn that Maria Palaiologina donated the book to "the venerable house of the all-pure [Maiden]" which "everyone is accustomed to call the house Chora". This implies that at the time when the poem was written, and the book was donated, the *monastery* and its main *katholikon* were dedicated to the Virgin.

(17) Translated by Catherine Asdracha and Lee Francis Sherry and consulted with Nicholas Oikonomides ; cf. C. Asdracha, L. F. Sherry, "Appendix", in N. TETERIATNIKOV, *The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople, C.A.*, 43 (1995), pp. 163-180.



FIG. 4. — Deesis. Photo : *Dumbarton Oaks*.

The question remains : when was the poem commissioned? At this point we have to turn to the historical data pertaining to the life of Maria Palaiologina, known as the “Lady of the Mongols”. Maria’s portrait is represented in the mosaic program of the Deesis of the south bay of the inner narthex of Chora (fig. 4) (18). The mosaics of Chora

(18) On Deesis see P. A. UNDERWOOD, *The Deesis Mosaic in the Kahrie Camii at Istanbul*, in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. WEITZMANN, Princeton, 1955, pp. 254-260 ; IDEM, *Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul : 1955-1956*, *DOP*, 12 (1958), pp. 284-287 ; IDEM, *Kariye Djami*, I, pp. 46, 47 ; S. RUNCIMAN, *The Lady of the Mongols*, in *Eis mnemen K.*

are attributed to 1313 and 1321 (19). There she is shown as a nun. In the poem, however, she is clearly addressed as a lay person. This suggests that the poem was written before Maria took monastic vows. This evidence can be considered as a *terminus ante quem* for commissioning the poem.

It is known that after Maria's first husband Khan Abaga died she returned from the Mongol court to Constantinople in 1285. She was sent again, as a diplomatic maneuver, to marry the Mongol prince, Charbandan, in 1307 (20). For some reason this marriage did not take place. It was probably some time after this date and the time of her portrait as a nun in the Deesis that she became a nun.

Let us further evaluate the content of the poem. According to its text, Maria found the book which she richly decorated and presented, together with the purple and golden veils, to the Virgin of Chora; in fact, the poem is about this donation (21). But when could Maria have presented such a precious book? It seems unlikely that she donated the book before Metochites took over and restored the monastery. In the letter of St. Athanasius to Andronikos II dated 1305, the patriarch was complaining to the emperor about the poor condition of the monastery (22). For that reason Andronikos II probably advised Theodore Metochites to restore the monastery. Scholars have suggested that Metochites could not have begun its restoration and organization of the library before 1308, and more likely between 1313 and 1321 (23). This was the most favorable time and situation for Maria's gift. She probably donated the book shortly before the creation of the mosaics. Both Metochites and Melania were related to the Emperor Andro-

Amantou, Athens, 1960, pp. 46-53; ŠEVČENKO, *Theodore Metochites*, p. 27 and note 61; N. TETERIATNIKOV, *The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople, C.A.*, 43 (1995), pp. 163-180.

(19) ŠEVČENKO, *Metochites*, pp. 19ff.

(20) A. Th. PAPADOPULOS, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen 1259-1453*, Munchen, 1938, pp. 33, 34, and no. 54. See also UNDERWOOD, *The Deesis Mosaic*, pp. 254-260; IDEM, *DOP.*, 12 (1958), pp. 284-287.

(21) For the discussion on the donation of this book see MANGO, *The Brazen House*, pp. 138ff; ŠEVČENKO, *Theodore Metochites*, p. 27 and note 61.

(22) A. M. TALBOT, *The Correspondance of Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople*, Washington, D.C., 1975, pp. 26-27; also JANIN, *Géographie*, I, iii, pp. 534, 535.

(23) On Metochites' library see ŠEVČENKO, *Theodore Metochites*, pp. 35-36, 80-81; OUSTERHOUT, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camu*, pp. 114-116.

nikos (24). Melania was a half-sister of Andronikos II Palaiologos. As for Metochites, his daughter Irene was married to the nephew of Andronikos II, John Palaiologos. Melania thus was an aunt of Metochites' daughter and son-in-law, and therefore his kinswoman (25). Moreover, because Maria was a relative of Metochites, the donation of the book was made to a place of family patronage. Therefore, it seems likely that the book was donated to the Metochites' library by Maria who was a well-known benefactor and patroness of arts in both Constantinople and the Mongol court.

To further understand the time when the poem could have been written, let us now turn to the biographical data of the author of the poem, Manuel Philes. According to a recent study, Philes, of a noble family related to the Palaiologoi, was born some time around 1270 and died around 1350. In 1297 he participated in an embassy to the "Tauroscythians" (Tatars) to arrange the marriage of Maria, daughter of Andronikos II, to the khan of the Golden, Horde Tochtai. This is probably when he was acquainted with Maria Palaiologina (the "Lady of the Mongols"), Andronikos' half-sister, through his diplomatic connections with the Mongol court. As for Philes, he established himself in Constantinople in a diplomatic career, but also as a poet. He wrote numerous poems for the Constantinopolitan nobility and many epigrams for various occasions, including many for their church foundations. These were often included in the church decoration to commemorate the founders. Most of his epigrams and poems are known from the first decades of the fourteenth century. It was the time when restoration and establishing new ecclesiastical foundations were often undertaken by aristocratic patrons of Constantinople as well as their relatives in the provinces (26). It is also during this time that Theodore Metochites had a project of restoring the monastery and compiling his famous library. The famous epigram for the mosaic decoration of the church of the Virgin Pammakaristos, for instance, was written some

(24) PAPADOPULOS, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen*, pp. 33, 34 and nos. 54, 55. See also UNDERWOOD, *The Deesis Mosaic*, pp. 254-260; ŠEVČENKO, *Theodore Metochites*, p. 27 and note 61.

(25) *Ibid.* Asan married Maria's daughter.

(26) Günter STICKLER, *Manuel Philes und seine Psalmenmetaphrase*, Wien, 1992, pp. 20-21; A. M. TALBOT, *Manuel Philes*, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. KAZHDAN, 3 (1991), cols. 1650-1651.

time before circa 1310⁽²⁷⁾. The poem for Maria Palaiologina could have been written during the reconstruction of Chora, some time in the second decade of the fourteenth century and before the mosaic program was set up, that is, before the time Maria took monastic vows. Her donation of this precious Gospel to the Virgin of Chora and her own portrait in the mosaic clearly illustrates her close ties with Metochites and the monastery.

In the poem Maria states that she offers this sacred book as “a gift of royal character” to the Virgin of Chora “for recompensation of the innumerable dangers” from which she was saved. Maria was probably accustomed to visiting the image of the Virgin which was probably in the church of the Virgin before Metochites restored it. Constantinopolitan monasteries of the Virgin often possessed icons of the Virgin which were associated with the same monastery. These miraculous images of the Virgin were numerous. There could have been one in Chora. The dedication of the monastery and the main church to the Virgin is also consonant with the renovations of the famous shrines of the Virgin and dedications of new churches to her by the aristocratic families of the first decades of the fourteenth century.

*The Dedicatory Pattern of Ecclesiastical Foundations
during the Reign of Andronikos II*

Notably, many churches and monasteries restored or newly built were dedicated to the Virgin by well-known members of the Palaiologan clan during the reign of Michael VIII and especially Andronikos II in both Constantinople and the provinces. In order to explain this phenomenon, we have to examine the situation with regard to ecclesiastical foundations and the liturgical revival of old miraculous shrines after the reconquest of Constantinople from the Crusaders. During this period many churches and monasteries had fallen into ruin and were in need of repair and renovation⁽²⁸⁾. The restoration of ecclesiastical

(27) H. BELTING, C. MANGO, D. MOURIRI, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethye Camu) at Istanbul*, Washington, D.C., 1978, pp. 3-22 and p. 96.

(28) A.-M. TALBOT, *The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII*, *DOP*, 47 (1993), pp. 243-261. For the nun Melania see TETERIATNIKOV, *The Place of the Nun Melania*, forthcoming.

foundations started during the time of Michael VIII and further progressed under his son and successor, the pious Andronikos II (29). In Constantinople, the functions of famous shrines dedicated to the Virgin were restored, such as those of the Vlachernai and later the Zoodochos Pege monasteries (30). After the restoration of the liturgical functions of these shrines, these holy places attracted crowds of pilgrims as well as again becoming places of miraculous healing (31). To further understand the growing role of the Virgin in Palaiologan society, it would be useful to recall two important historical events during the reigns of Michel VIII and Andronikos II which illustrate the political, social, and spiritual role of the image of the Virgin in the society of this period. One is the famous case when after the reconquest of the city from the Crusaders in 1261, and facing the monumental task of reestablishing the capital and restoring the city's function, on August 15 1261, the feast day of the Dormition, Michael VIII made his triumphal entry into Constantinople (32). The holy icon of the Virgin Hodegitria, the palladium of the city, was carried at the head of the procession, which went through the streets of Constantinople to the Church of Hagia Sophia where a liturgical service was held. The second famous instance was when the monastery Church of Vlachernai played an important role for Palaiologan society when in 1283 Andronikos II repudiated his father Michael VIII's unpopular policies of union with the West (33). The repurification of Orthodoxy (*katharsis*) was accomplished by the Synod of Vlachernai, which took place at the monastery of Vlachernai (34). In both cases, it is the name of the Virgin and the name of the monastery of the Virgin that manifested to society that the most important historical events were under the protection of the Virgin. The Church of St. Mary in Apollonia, in Albania elucidates

(29) TALBOT, *The restoration of Constantinople*, p. 261.

(30) *Ibid.*, p. 247.

(31) J. EBERSOLT, *Constantinople ; recueil d'études d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Paris, 1951, pp. 61-66 and 68-70 ; A.-M. TALBOT, *Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art*, *DOP*, 49 (1994), pp. 135-141.

(32) D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282 : A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relationships*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, pp. 120-121.

(33) Angeliki LAIOU, *Constantinople and the Latins : The Foreign Policy of Andronikos II 1282-1328*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, pp. 34-36.

(34) D. M. NICOL, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 16ff., 29ff. ; PACHYMERES, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, *CSHB*, I-II (1835).

this significant role of the Virgin as a mediator between the Emperor and provincial patrons of ecclesiastical foundations.

The portrait of both emperors, Michael VIII and Andronikos II, has survived in the frescoes of the exonarthex of this church⁽³⁵⁾. This church of the Virgin received a new exonarthex during the reigns of Michael VIII and Andronikos II (1259-82). The portrait of both emperors is included in the dedicatory fresco panel of the exonarthex with an inscription including an imperial chrysobull indicating privileges to the monastery⁽³⁶⁾. The panel represents emperors Michael VIII and Andronikos II and empress Theodora on the left side and the *ktetors* (the young noble presented to the emperor by the Virgin and another male *ktetor*) behind. Both groups are turned toward the center where the image of the Virgin holding the model of the church and presenting the young *ktetor* to the Emperor is depicted. The figures of the Virgin and Michael VIII are slightly turned toward each other. This visual expression of the figures shows the viewer a special bond between the emperor and the Virgin.

But there is no better illustration of the role of the Virgin in the Palaiologan period than the epigrams of Manuel Philes, who was the author of our epigram written for Maria Paleologina. As mentioned above, Philes was a court poet who wrote numerous epigrams for noblemen for various occasions and dedicated to different holy images, with the majority of them being dedicated to the Virgin⁽³⁷⁾. This also tells us that the image of the Virgin was one of the major devotional images for aristocratic patrons.

Let us now turn to the church foundations. According to Janin's data, there were about thirteen ecclesiastical foundations that were dedicated to the Virgin in the last decades of the thirteenth century and in the first decades of the fourteenth in Constantinople⁽³⁸⁾. Compiled from what sources survive, these data cannot be complete, yet still they show that a number of prominent families of the Palaiolo-

(35) H. und H. BUSCHHAUSEN, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien*, Wien, 1976, pp. 141-182 and figs. 17-19; T. VELMANS, *La peinture murale byzantine a la fin du moyen âge*, vol. I, Paris, 1977, p. 135; TALBOT, *Epigrams of Manuel Philes*, pp. 135-141.

(36) BUSCHHAUSEN, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia*, pp. 141-182.

(37) *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. E. MILLER, 2 vols., Paris, 1855-57. Reprint Amsterdam, 1967.

(38) JANIN, *Géographie*, 1, 3, pp. 156-244.

logan clan were *ktetors* of churches and monasteries dedicated to the Virgin. Although we are not clearly informed about the restoration of church foundations by Michael VIII, there are some indications that he restored the church of the Virgin at Vlachernai and the Theotokos Peribleptos, where there was a portrait of him and his family⁽³⁹⁾. But more foundations of the Virgin were seen to by the members of the imperial family and the nobility. The monastery of Panagia Panagiotissa was constructed probably by the father-in-law of George Akropolites, who also restored another church of the Virgin which was dedicated in 1267⁽⁴⁰⁾. Circa 1263, Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes restored the monastery of Pammakaristos, which had especially suffered from the Latin occupation⁽⁴¹⁾. Glabas also constructed the Theotokos Atheniotissa at Constantinople⁽⁴²⁾. But the majority of the ecclesiastical foundations were restored or newly constructed during the time of Andronikos II. Among the latter are the famous foundations of the relatives of Andronikos II, founded by such *ktetors* as Theodora Palaiologina who restored the Theotokos of Constantine Lips. Metochites restored the monastery of the Virgin of Chora. Nikephoros Goumnos was a *ktetor* of the Theotokos Gorgoepekoos⁽⁴³⁾. The Glabas family decorated Pammakaristos in Constantinople some time before circa 1310⁽⁴⁴⁾. It has been recently suggested that the church of the Virgin of Sure Hope (Theotokos tes Bebaias Elpideos) also was founded in the first two decades of the fourteenth century by the members of the Palaiologan family whose portraits are later included in the *typikon* of this monastery⁽⁴⁵⁾. In addition, the church of the

(39) TALBOT, *Restoration of Constantinople*, pp. 164-253.

(40) D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London, 1968, p. 83; S. ΚΟΥΓΕΑΣ, *Ο ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ ΚΤΗΤΩΡ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΙΣΙΝΟΥ (ΚΩΔΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΥΙΔΑ)* (cod. Parisin. graec. 2625), *Byzantina Metabyzantina*, 1.2 (1949), pp. 61-74, esp. p. 62; TALBOT, *Restoration of Constantinople*, p. 256. On the church of the Virgin: TALBOT, *ibid.*

(41) BELTING, MANGO, MOURIKI, *The Mosaics*, p. 12 and notes 42-43; J. EBERSOIT and A. THIERS, *Les églises de Constantinople*, Paris, 1913, pp. 229, 275; TALBOT, *ibid.*, p. 257.

(42) A. FAILLER, *Pachimeriana altera*, *REB*, 46 (1988), pp. 80-83; TALBOT, *ibid.*

(43) JANIN, *Géographie*, 1, 3, pp. 180-181.

(44) BELTING, MANGO, MOURIKI, *The Mosaics*, 12 and notes 42-43.

(45) JANIN, *Géographie*, 1, 3, pp. 166-168; A. CUTLER, P. MAGDALINO, *Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typikon*, *CA*, 27 (1978), pp. 179-198, dated the manuscript to the period of Andronikos III; A.-M. TALBOT, *The Byzantine Family and the Monastery*, *DOP*, 44 (1990), pp. 124-126. Irmgard Hutter has suggested in her forthcoming article that the manuscript is dated to the time of Andronikos II,

Virgin Panachrantos was associated with Patriarch Athanasios who was close to Emperor Andronikos II (46). Similar to their activities in Constantinople the members of Palaiologan families and members of the court founded churches in the provinces. Thus the Despot Nikephoros I of Epiros, and his wife, Anna Paleologina, niece of the Emperor Michael VIII, built in Arta the Church of the Virgin Paregoritissa (47). It has been suggested that Anna Paleologina also restored and commissioned frescoes of the Vlacherna church in Arta. In fact the frescoes of the narthex illustrate an important event, the procession of the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in Constantinople during the Tuesday *litany* where she, her mother, and her sister participated (48). This further show the effect of the cult of the Virgin in Constantinople on the provincial aristocratic patron who tried to envoke this this cult in his provincial church. The church of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson in northern Thessaly was founded (1295/6 or 1304/5) by the sebastocrators Constantine and Theodore, considered as relatives of the Emperor (49). Sgouros, who has been identified as a son-in-law of the Emperor Andronikos, built the church of the Virgin Perivleptos (Saint Clement) in Ochrid (50). Historical sources record that King Milutin of Serbia, who married the daughter of Andronikos II, Simonis, founded four churches dedicated to the Virgin: the church of Bogorodiča Ljeviška at Prizren, the Church of the Dormition in Gračanica, the main *katholikon* at Hilandar monastery in Mount Athos, and the Church of Trojerucica (the three-handed Virgin) in Skopje (51).

and the portraits of the noblemen were included later. I would like to thank her for sharing this information with me.

(46) JANIN, *Géographie*, I, 3, p. 224.

(47) ORLANDOS, 'H *παρὰ τὴν Ἄρταν μονὴ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν*, *ABME*, 2, 1 (1936), pp. 3ff. ; D. NICOL, *Thomas Despot of Epiros and the Foundation date of the Paregoritissa at Arta*, *Byzantina*, 13, 2 (1985), pp. 753-758.

(48) On the Vlachernis church in Arta: M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *The Basilissa Anna Palaiologina of Arta and the monastery of Vlacherna*, in *Women in Byzantium and Byzantine Monasticism*, 1991, pp. 43-49, with bibliography p. 43.

(49) Two brothers, the Sebastocrator Constantine and Theodore who were considered as "relatives" of Andronicos II, founded the *Katholikon* of the Panagia Olimpiotissa in Elasson. See Efthalia C. CONSTANTINIDES, *The Wall Paintings of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson in Northern Thessaly*, Athens, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 33ff.

(50) See P. MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, *Une icône bilatérale au Monastère Saint Jean Prodrome, dans les environs de Serrès*, *CA*, XVI (1966), pp. 177ff. ; IDEM, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij*, Skopje, 1967.

(51) For the patronage of King Milutin see V. MARKOVIĆ, *Pravoslavno monaštvo i monastiri u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji*, Sremski Karlovci, 1920, pp. 88-98. See also S.

There were also churches dedicated to the Virgin in the provinces established by other aristocratic families and clergy. For example, the main church and the monastery of the Virgin Apheniko (Brontocheion) in Mistra, founded circa 1313-14, was founded by the archbishop Pachomios and the Great Protosyncellos or ecclesiastical chancellor of the Peloponnese⁽⁵²⁾. In Thessaloniki in the 1290s, metropolitan Iakovos, a pupil of Patriarch Athanasius I, renovated the Monastery of the Virgin Perivleptos⁽⁵³⁾. In the same city the monk Laurentios Klados founded a convent in honor of the Theotokos near the Hippodrome before 1324⁽⁵⁴⁾. The monastery of the Virgin of Kantakouzenos was founded near Thessaloniki by the Kantakouzenos family around 1302⁽⁵⁵⁾. In Macedonia in 1283 the sebastocrator John I Angelos founded the great monastery of Porta Panagia⁽⁵⁶⁾.

There is another interesting case in Cyprus. The church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari in Cyprus is dedicated to the holy Mother of God and dated according to the dedicatory inscription ca. 1105/6⁽⁵⁷⁾. Over the south entrance of the nave there is a portrait of a donor Nicephorus *Magistros* presenting a model of the church to Christ through the Virgin Mary (fig. 5). This fresco belongs to the third quarter of the fourteenth century⁽⁵⁸⁾. Although the church is dedicated to the Virgin, the donor presents his church to Christ. This message seems parallel to the portrait of Theodore Metochites in Chora who also presents the model of his church to Christ (fig. 3).

NENADOVIĆ, *Architektura Chilandara : tsrkve i paraklisi, Chilendarski zbornik*, 3 (1974), pp. 85-96 ; G. BABIĆ, *Bogorodića Ljeviška*, Belgrade, 1975 pp. 10-48 ; S. ĆURČIĆ, *Gračanica : King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture*, University Park and London, 1979, especially pp. 6, 7 and note 9.

(52) S. DUFRENNE, *Les programmes des églises byzantines de Mistra*, Paris, 1970, pp. 8-13. See also N. V. GEORGIADES, *Mistra*, Athens, 1975, pp. 42-50 ; M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Mistras : The Medieval City of the Castle*, Athens, 1992, p. 47.

(53) See A. TSITOURIDOU, *Les fresques de l'église Saint-Pantheleimon à Salonique*, *Zograf*, 6 (1975), pp. 14ff.

(54) M. RAUTMAN, *Aspects of Monastic Patronage in Palaeologan Macedonia*, in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. S. ĆURČIĆ and Doula MOURIKI, Princeton, 1991, p. 67. See also IDEM, *Patrons and Buildings in Late Byzantine Thessaloniki*, *JÖB*, 39 (1989), pp. 295-315.

(55) RAUTMAN, *Monastic Patronage in Macedonia*, p. 60 with bibliography note 25.

(56) *Ibid.*, p. 70 with bibliography note 77.

(57) A. and J. STYLIANOU, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, London, 1985, pp. 114-140, and especially p. 117.

(58) *Ibid.*, p. 116 and fig. 57.



FIG. 5. — Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus.
Donor presenting a model of the church to Christ. *Photo : Dumbarton Oaks.*

All this suggests that restoration of the ancient shrines of the Virgin and the construction of new ones were associated with reestablishing the role of the Virgin in society after the Crusades. Although different in its historical context, this role of the Virgin in the Palaiologan period seems to echo her significance during the time of Justinian or the Comnenian period (59).

In conclusion, the poem of Manuel Philes offers us an opportunity to identify the dedicatory name of the main *katholikon* of Chora and

(59) On the role of the Virgin during the 5th-7th centuries see A. CAMERON, *Theotokos in the Sixth-Century Constantinople*, *JTS*, 29 (1978), pp. 79-108, reprinted in *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium*, London, 1981, no. XVI, pp. 79-108; and *idem*, *The Virgin's Robe: An Episode in the History of Early Seventh-Century Constantinople*, *ibid.*, no. XVII, pp. 42-56. For increasing role of the Virgin as the Mother especially in the Middle Byzantine period see I. KALAVREZOU, *Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became Mater Theou*, *DOP*, 44 (1990), pp. 165-172.

the name of the monastery as dedicated to the Virgin. Metochites' renovation of an ancient shrine, which was probably dedicated to the Virgin coincided with other aristocratic ecclesiastical foundations in Constantinople and the provinces during this period. The reign of Andronikos II was marked by difficult economic, political troubles, and poverty. As Angeliki Laiou pointed out that "the period was also the one in which considerable number of people attained sainthood" (60). This period also necessitated the renovation of ancient shrines and construction of new ones dedicated to the Virgin, thereby reinstating in Palaiologan society the role of the Virgin, to whom its members could turn for hope.

Dumbarton Oaks.

Natalia TETERIATNIKOV.

(60) Angeliki E. LAYOU-THOMADAKIS, *Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire*, in *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. Angeliki E. LAYOU-THOMADAKIS, New Brunswick, N.J., 1980, pp. 84-114, and especially p. 84. In this article Laiou brought an interesting example of a miracle of the Virgin which illustrates her role in Constantinople in the Late Byzantine period. According to the story of this miracle, in Constantinople there was a man, named Nikolaos, a member of aristocracy who supported John VI Kantakouzenos during the civil war. The fire was set in his house by the mob. But "through the intercession of the Virgin the mob suddenly came to its senses, did not destroy the house, and dispersed", *ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

THE TREATIES BETWEEN JUSTINIAN AND ATHANAGILD AND THE LEGALITY OF THE BYZANTINE POSSESSIONS ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

Different aspects of Byzantine territorial domination in Hispania are still the subject of profound discussion. One has barely been analyzed, and even then, only the Visigoth perspective has been considered, so understanding the global and local context of the Byzantine presence in Iberia is difficult. I refer to the problems posed by Gregory the Great's allusion in an epistle (*Reg. Epist. IX, 229. In Anagnostico*) sent to the visigoth monarch Recared, congratulating him on his conversion. This 595 epistle mentions a pact between Justinian and the Visigothic Kingdom, which would have had to have been signed between the years 552, the year when the Byzantines entered the Peninsula, and 565, the year the emperor died.

The existence of this pact, a signed agreement between Justinian and, necessarily, because of the chronology, Athanagild, the king who gave Justinian legal permission to enter the Peninsula, is extremely important. Not only would it shed light on the political and territorial relation between the Byzantines and the Visigoths at the end of the sixth century, but it also refers to the first decade of the Byzantine presence on Hispanic peninsular territory, the subject of this paper. However, first, before analyzing the reality of the pact and its effects on Justinian and Athanagild's relations, Gregory the Great's epistle must be placed in its own time context since, as will become clear, the territorial confrontation between Byzantines and Visigoths at the end of the sixth century is basic to confirming the existence of the pact referred to in the Pope's epistle.

For many years differences between the Visigothic King and the Emperor had been resolved through armed conflict, except, of course, for the initial contacts between Athanagild and Justinian and the

necessarily 'peaceful' period at the end of the Visigothic civil war of 579-584 (1). Now, this papal document testifies to Recared's use of a much less violent strategy to confront or try to counteract the presence of Imperial troops on the peninsula : a diplomatic mediator, in this case personified in the 'independent' imperial subject Gregory the Great.

The document in question contains the papal reply to the Visigothic monarch's request that the Pope represent him (Recared) to the Imperial authorities in Constantinople. Recared wanted the Pope to obtain a copy of a document, almost surely an agreement on territorial borders between the Visigothic Kingdom and Emperor Justinian from the Byzantine archives since it seems the Visigothic Royal Archives had no copy. Certainly a very strange circumstance.

Gregory replied several years later explaining the futility of his efforts : the *Cartofilacium* had apparently been destroyed in a fire, and the document in question and 'all' the papers from Justinian's reign had been lost (2). Despite this 'strange' destruction — Gregory the Great's epistle is the only known contemporary mention of the fire —, it is quite clear that the Pope was familiar with the details of the treaty in light of his reply to the Visigoth : Recared should stop reclaiming the treaty, forget it and sue for peace since the terms of the treaty were contrary to the interests of the Visigothic Kingdom at that time (3).

(1) See M. VALLEJO GIRVÉS, *Bizancio y la España Tardoantigua. Ss. V-VIII. Un capítulo de historia mediterránea*, Alcalá de Henares, 1993, pp. 107-112 and 209-213, and cf. W. GOFFART, *Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice. The Pretenders Hermenegild and Gundovald (579-585)*, in *Traditio*, 13 (1957), pp. 105ff ; R. LIZOP, *Herménégild et Gondoval. Deux épisodes de la politique byzantine en Occident*, in *Revue de Comminges*, LXXVI (1963), pp. 134-140.

(2) Gregory the Great indicates that the documents were suddenly destroyed during the reign of Justinian himself. During 555 and 565, specifically in 560/562, Constantinople suffered several serious fires, usually provoked by the disputes among rival *factiones*, and this, according to MALALAS, *Chron.*, § 490-496 (ed. L. DINDORF, Berlin, 1831) and THEOPHANES, *Chronogr.*, A. M. 6053-6054 (ed. C. DE BOOR, *Theophanis. Chronographia*, p. 235-236, I, Leipzig, 1883 (repr. Leipzig, 1963), serious destruction in all of the city of the Julian Port, in the *Forum Tauri*, and in the vicinity of St. Sophia and St. Eirene and in the headquarters of the Praetorian prefect (cf. A. CAMERON, *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*, Oxford, 1976, pp. 276-277), but they do not mention that particular archive so it may have been a fortuitous fire. However, it still is surprising that no other author who concerned himself with the events of the second half of the sixth century mentioned something as important as the destruction of the Justinianic archives.

(3) Cf. for the attitude of the Pope in face of the visigothic-byzantine conflict M. REYDELLET, *La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidonie Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville*, Rome 1981, pp. 452-456 ; J. ORLANDIS, *Gregorio Magno y la España visigodo-*

This would seem to imply that in those last years of the sixth century the Byzantines held sway over a smaller territory than what they were legally entitled to in the pact Recared was looking for.

As a result of the civil conflict created by Hermenegild in the early eighthies, and of Comenciolus' rule in *Spania* (4), the territory under Byzantine sovereignty had grown with respect to what it had been before Hermenegild's rebellion. Nevertheless it still was not as extensive as it had been before Leovigild's fruitful campaign against the Byzantine territories in the hinterland — when he conquered the cities of *Basti*, *Acci* and the control of the route between the latter and *ANTICARIA* — in the early years of his reign (5). Therefore, if, as can be deduced from the words of the epistle, the territory controlled by the Empire in Hispania at the end of the sixth century was less than it controlled when it signed the pact with Athanagild, it is evident that if the pact had been re-activated at the end of the sixth century, the Visigoth territorial loss would have been quite significant.

There is a clear solution. However, actual terms of the pact and the date when it must have been signed are not as clear, since, as can be gleaned from various literary testimonies, the size of Byzantine *Spania* would have varied substantially between 552 and 565, the key years.

As is known, and in agreement with Jordanes' testimony, the Byzantine troops entered the Peninsula to help or assist Athanagild in his pretensions to the Visigothic throne, then occupied by Agila (6). In this situation it would be logical to suppose that Justinian not only demanded territorial compensation from the Visigothic pretender from the beginning of their relation as payment for Byzantine support but he also demanded a territorial treaty that would reflect the visigoth's

bizantina, in *Hispania y Zaragoza en la Antigüedad Tardía*, Zaragoza, 1984, pp. 92-93 ; M. VALLEJO GIRVÉS, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-251 ; J. VILELLA, *Gregorio Magno e Hispania*, in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempore. Alle Origini dell'Europa. XIX Incontro di Studiosi dell'antichità cristiana in Roma 1990*, Rome, 1991, pp. 176-177.

(4) HÜBNER, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, no. 176 ; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, II, no. 3420 ; *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, no. 835 ; J. VIVES, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España Romana y Visigoda*, Barcelona, 1969², no. 362. See now M. VALLEJO GIRVÉS, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-238.

(5) JOHN OF BICLAR, *Chron. ad an. 570*, 2 (ed. J. CAMPOS, *Juan de Biclario, Obispo de Gerona. Su vida y su obra. Introducción, texto crítico y comentarios*, Madrid, 1960, p. 80, lin. 51-52). See M. VALLEJO GIRVÉS, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-150.

(6) JORDANES, *Getica*, § LVIII, 303 (ed. Th. MOMMSEN, *Getica et Romana*, in *MGH Auctores Antiquissimi*, 5, 1, Berlin, 1882 (reimp. Munich, 1982), p. 136, lin. 1-5).

acceptance of the legitimacy of Imperial sovereignty over Peninsular soil in case the Visigothic Kingdom later attempted to expel the Byzantines (7).

However, the implications of this treaty legitimizing Byzantine presence in Spain should be examined more closely. These events occurred against the backdrop of the *Renovatio Imperii*. Thus, from Constantinople's viewpoint, the legitimacy of imperial presence on Hispanic land was unquestionable — the Empire was only reclaiming territory that had always belonged to it but which had been robbed over a century before (8). Additionally it is also quite likely that, on this occasion, Justinian was also very mindful of the Visigothic viewpoint, specifically the Visigoth's interest in dominating the Peninsula. By pushing the signing of the agreement Justinian was anticipating future Visigothic revindications. He knew that those lands were, legitimately, the Empire's, but he also knew that signing the pact forced a tacit admission of Byzantium's legitimacy from the Visigothic Kingdom.

The territory ceded in the pact, which was probably signed c. 552, must have been the Baetic coast, specifically, the Straits of Gibraltar, which the Byzantines would have expressly requested with the excuse, so as not to raise suspicions about their later plans, of protecting their African domains. On this occasion, the pact probably did not refer to the Levantine territories since Athanagild could not have negotiated with areas in which neither he, himself, nor even Agila, held any real power (9), and it would certainly be absurd for Justinian to sign a pact distributing a territory in which neither side had any say.

I believe that this would have been the situation in 552. However by c. 565, the time Justinian died, the Byzantine territory on the Peninsula would have grown to cover the coastal strip from Gibraltar through to Denia on the Levant and with important inroads on the hinter-

(7) Cf. F. GÖRRES, *Die Byzantinische Besitzungen an den Küsten des spanischwestgotischen Reiches (554-624)*, in *BZ*, 16 (1907), p. 514 ; K. F. STROHEKER, *Das Spanische Westgotenreich und Byzanz*, in *Germanentum und Spätantike*, Zurich, 1965, p. 213.

(8) Cf. *Nov. Iust.*, XXX, 11, § 2 (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, III. *Novellae*, ed. R. SCHOELL and G. KRÖLL, Berlin, 1895 (1972¹⁰) and *CJ*, I, xxvii, fr. 2, § 2 (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, II. *Codex Iustinianus*, ed. P. KRUEGER, Berlin, 1877 (1967¹⁴); see M. MAAS, *Roman History and Christian Ideology in Justinianic Reform Legislation*, in *DOP*, 40 (1986), pp. 18-25 ; R. BONINI, *Studi sull'età giustiniana*, Rimini, 1987, pp. 12ff.

(9) M. VALLEJO GIRVÉS, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-89, on the extent of Visigothic control in the Southern Peninsula at the middle of the sixth century.

lands of *Baetica* and *Carthaginiensis*. This territory is much closer to the size of the Byzantine possessions at the end of the sixth century than the territory Athanagild could have ceded when he, in 552/555, requested or accepted Byzantine 'military assistance'.

So I must determine is whether the pact referred to in Gregory the Great's epistle is the one that would have been signed when the agreement was made to send troops to the Peninsula in aid of Athanagild, or whether, on the contrary, it was a second treaty, signed by the two rulers, but later, in very different circumstances, when they were adversaries and in which they tacitly admitted the immobility of the existing border between their two domains⁽¹⁰⁾. Analysis necessarily requires understanding the evolution of the Visigothic civil conflict of the middle of the sixth century and the Byzantine's part in it, but I should say, that personally, I am inclined to the second hypothesis.

Gregory of Tours' mention of the empire's conquest of some *Civitates* in a context that was before Agila's death⁽¹¹⁾ demonstrates that the Imperial troops took possession more or less immediately of part of the Peninsular territory. Unfortunately, the literary sources do not supply many indications that would determine whether the cities were occupied on the basis of what had been stipulated between Athanagild and Justinian when they negotiated the Imperial assistance, or if, on the contrary the occupation was unconnected with the help to Athanagild, and took place on Justinian's initiative. However, not until Agila's followers had assassinated him in 555, three years after the Byzantine troop landing, did they join Athanagild to fight against the '*milites*' invasion⁽¹²⁾. This fact supports our proposal of Athanagild's having acquiesced to the Imperial troops having taken some cities before then. This conquest would undoubtedly reflect the materialization of what had been stipulated in the probable agreement of 552, since it seems logical to think that Justinian would not expect Athanagild to honor the pact once he had reached the throne.

(10) See E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, Bruges-Paris, 1949, II, p. 563, n. 1, was not definitively inclined for either possibility since he felt both were equally acceptable.

(11) GREGORY OF TOURS, *Historia Francorum*, IV, § 8, lin. 9-11 (ed. B. KRUSCH, *MGH Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, I, Hannover, 1937, p. 140).

(12) ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Historia Gothorum*, § 46, lin. 10-11 (ed. C. RODRÍGUEZ ALONSO, *Las Historias de los godos, vándalos y suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio, Edición crítica y traducción*, Leon, 1975, p. 248).

The other conflicts that began in the Empire in those early years — problems that flared up again with the Persians, the continuation of the Ostrogoth problem, the conflict with the Moorish tribes, etc. —, probably reduced the size of the contingent that Justinian could send to the Peninsula. Since *Hispania* was so close to Byzantine Africa, the zone that the Byzantine troops occupied between 552 and 555, on the basis of the original pact, may have been the Mediterranean coast of Baetica, and the ports on the Straits of Gibraltar and Malaga would have been their main strongholds (13).

But something changed substantially in 555 in the Hispanic political panorama. Isidore of Seville tells us that Athanagild had assumed the Visigothic throne after managing to attract the support of Agila's soldiers, who had then assassinated Agila (the legal king) and, that Athanagild, once acclaimed King of the Visigoths, attempted to expel the Imperial invaders (14). In my opinion this can only mean that Athanagild, who was quite strong at the very end of Agila's reign, would have then refused 'Byzantine support'; not only had they contributed nothing towards swinging the political contest in his own favor, but the Empire, just freed of many other difficulties (the end of the Ostrogoth problem, the Moorish problem etc.), would have been trying to extend its peninsular holdings beyond what had originally been agreed (15).

On principle it seems evident that such a radical change in the Visigoth's attitude would correspond to a similar change in the Empire's attitude towards the Peninsula. If the Visigoths now feared a *militēs* invasion, a good three years after their arrival, as indicated by Isidore of Seville, it is because the Byzantines would have been on the point of appropriating, or had already appropriated, areas that, in principle, and according to the pact, did not correspond to them at all.

Although the paucity of information on this subject in the chronicles referring to Athanagild's reign oblige us to take precautions before categorically affirming anything, it may be possible to identify the area

(13) P. GOUBERT, *Administration de l'Espagne byzantine*, in *RÉB*, IV (1946), p. 95, although with reservations in regards to the author of the capture.

(14) ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Historia Gothorum*, § 46-47 (ed. C. RODRÍGUEZ ALONSO, *op. cit.*, p. 248-250).

(15) K. F. STROHEKER, *Das Spanische Westgotenreich*, p. 211; E. A. THOMPSON, *Los godos en España*, spanish trans. Madrid, 1971, p. 372; J. ORLANDIS, *Historia de España. España Visigoda (407-711)*, Madrid, 1977, pp. 91-92.

that interested Justinian in the light of the later Byzantine domination and its strategical interests.

These zones were in all probability the Levantine coast that the Empire managed to conserve almost until the end of its days on the peninsula, that is, the zone between Cartagena — where, according to Leander of Seville, from the middle of the sixth century there is proof of the presence of so-called *extranei*, a term I think hides an allusion to the Imperial troops that expelled Leander's family from those lands ⁽¹⁶⁾, and Denia, which they could also control from the strategic Balearic Islands ⁽¹⁷⁾; they also held important interior regions of the provinces of *Baetica* and *Carthaginiensis*.

As I indicated at the beginning, the Levantine area of the province of *Cartaginiensis* would have possibly escaped complete Visigothic control, but this does not mean that Athanagild would have been ready to lose even one of the cities in the provinces that made up his kingdom without a fight. Byzantine presence in interior territories like *Basti*, *Acci* and the roads that ran from them to the ports on the Strait of Gibraltar and the rest of the eastern *Baetic* coast, seriously worried the Visigothic government of the region. This would have been the reasons for Athanagild's having taken up arms to expel the Byzantines, who, by 555 would have occupied more peninsular lands than they ever had had at any other time during their seventy years on the Peninsula ⁽¹⁸⁾.

(16) LEANDER OF SEVILLE, *Regula*, § XXXI, lin. 864-865 (ed. J. CAMPOS and I. ROCA, *Santos Padres Españoles*, II, *San Leandro, San Fructuoso, San Isidoro. Reglas monásticas de la España Visigoda. Los tres libros de las 'Sentencias'*, Madrid 1971, p. 73); ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *De Viris Illustribus*, § XXVIII (ed. C. CODOÑER, *El 'De Viris Illustribus' de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio y Edición Crítica*, Salamanca, 1964, p. 149). See J. FONTAINE and P. CAZIER, *Qui a chassé de Carthaginoise Severianus et les siens? Observations sur l'histoire familiale d'Isidoro de Séville*, in *Anexos de Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 1983, pp. 381-386; L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *La Andalucía de San Isidoro*, in *II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía*, Cordova, 1994, pp. 555-557.

(17) M. VALLEJO GIRVÉS, *La omisión de Ibiza y Córcega en la 'Descriptio Orbis Romani' de Jorge de Chipre y en la 'Chronographia' de Teófanos*, in *Erytheia*, XV (1994), pp. 21-32; cf. ID., *Bibliografía referencial sobre Ceuta y Baleares bizantinas*, in *Tempus. Revista de actualización científica*, 4 (1993), pp. 59-71, specifically pp. 67-68.

(18) K. F. STROHEKER, *Das Spanische Westgotenreich*, p. 213, and J. ORLANDIS, *op. cit.*, p. 91. F. GÖRRES, *Die Byzantinische*, p. 416, and P. GOUBERT, *Byzance et l'Espagne Wisigothique*, p. 14, represent the opposite view.

I think that from the very beginning of his arrival on the Peninsula, Justinian would have been stretching the letter of his agreement with Athanagild, who, after 555, would have been trying to resist this expansion⁽¹⁹⁾. It seems that matters continued the same until around the middle of the sixties, when the *Chronica Caesaraugustana* writes that Athanagild, apparently ignoring his Byzantine enemy, fought to recuperate Seville and conquer Cordoba⁽²⁰⁾, which I feel were in the hands of autochthonous rebels.

The loss of the strategic crossroads of *Hispalis*, with roads that headed to the Straits and towards *Malaca*, both dominated by the Empire, was joined to the loss of the never dominated but not less important *Corduba*, hampered any Visigothic attack on Imperial possessions. For the success of his strategy against the Byzantines in the south it was practically imperative that Athanagild completely control both cities and their territories. Additionally, given their emblematic natures, these two cities were enormously important to Visigothic control of *Baetica*. In fact, I think that recuperating *Hispalis*, since it had supported his pretensions to the throne, and controlling the always rebellious *Corduba* were priorities for Athanagild.

The very scarce existing literary sources make no mention of Athanagild's fight against the Byzantines at those times ; I think that he had probably suspended it, but certainly not at the risk of Emperor continuing to increase his Peninsular territory. That is why I feel that Athanagild only occupied himself with the rebellious *Baetic* cities once he was certain that the Byzantine front would remain quiet.

These are precisely the circumstances that make us think⁽²¹⁾ that in the previous years there may have signed a second pact, and that pact would be the one Gregory the Great referred to in his epistle. This second pact would reflect the then existing territorial situation after 555. Both Byzantines and Visigoths had motives to propose or accept at that moment such a pact.

(19) According GREGORY OF TOURS, *Historia Francorum*, IV, § 8, Athanagild managed to regain some cities.

(20) *Chronica Caesaraugustana*, ad an. 568 (ed. Th. MOMMSEN, *MGH Auctores Antiquissimi*, 11. *Chronica Minora*, Berlin 1894 (reimpr. Munich, 1981), p. 223).

(21) L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Las Invasiones y la época visigoda. Reinos y Condados Cristianos*, in *Romanismo y Germanismo. El despertar de los pueblos hispánicos* (s. IV-X), in M. TUÑÓN DE LARA (dir.), *Historia de España*, II, Barcelona, 1981, p. 300.

Athanagild's motives seem clear. He had already been fighting the Byzantines for several years and, although he had obtained some success, he had not achieved his final objective⁽²²⁾; another problem had had to be solved immediately: the loss of emblematic Seville, together with the resistance of Cordoba. Justinian's motives, although much more difficult to define, can also be guessed.

In Justinian's eyes, his immediate problem at that time would have been the Slavs and the Avars. The Persians, another traditional enemy of the Empire, had signed the so-called Fifty Years' Peace⁽²³⁾ in 561, so that the problems on that border were not immediate. But in 559 the Kutrigurgans crossed the Danube, Moesia and reached Thrace, heading towards Macedonia and Thessaly, as far as Chersonesus and even forced the gates of Constantinople penetrating some of the outlying quarters. The Slavs continued to pressure the lower Danube while the Avars razed the northern Balkan Peninsula⁽²⁴⁾. Justinian was obliged to strongly reinforce his Balkan *Limes*. On the other hand, and without wishing to exaggerate the effects of the plague outbreaks, they certainly did limit the number of men available to Justinian⁽²⁵⁾. The Emperor was not fancy free. And, in his Spanish territory the situation was not entirely rosy either. After conquering the Spanish territory, he had managed to resist Athanagild's attempts to expel him, but, and this is a speculation, he had not managed to seize more

(22) ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Historia Gothorum*, § 47.

(23) MENANDER PROTECTOR, *fr. 6, 1* (ed. R. C. BLOCKLEY, *The History of Menander the Guardsman. Introductory Essay, Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes*, Wiltshire, 1985, pp. 55ff). See R. C. BLOCKLEY, *Subsidies and Diplomacy: Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity*, in *Phoenix*, 39, 1 (1985), pp. 71-72.

(24) MALALAS, *Chron.*, § 489. 11. See D. OBOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe 500-1453*, Bungay, Suffolk, 1971, pp. 44-49; B. FERJANCIC, *Invasions et installation des slaves dans les Balkans*, in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin*, Rome, 1984, pp. 91-93.

(25) PROCOPIUS, *De Bello Persico*, II, xxii, 2 and *De Bello Gothico*, I, 3, 6 (ed. J. HAURY and H. B. DEWING, Col. Loeb, Harvard University Press, 1953); VICTOR TUNONENSIS, *Chronica*, ad an. 542. 2 (ed. Th. MOMMSEN, *MGH Auctores Antiquissimi*, 11. *Chronica Minora. Saec. IV-V-VI-VII*, vol. II, Berlin, 1894 (reimpr. Munich, 1981), p. 201); MALALAS, *Chron.*, § 482; *Chronica CaesarAugustana*, ad an. 542. On this discussion see among others, the studies of J. LE GOFF and J. N. BIRABEN, *La peste dans le Haut Moyen Âge*, in *Annales. Économies. Sociétés. Civilisations*, 24 (1969), pp. 1484-1510; P. ALLEN, *The Justinianic Plague*, in *Byz.*, 48 (1979), pp. 5-20; J. DURLIAT, *La peste du VI^e siècle. Pour un nouvel examen des sources byzantines*, in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantine (IV^e-VII^e siècle)*, Paris, 1989, pp. 107-119.

territory. Consequently Justinian would not look with jaundiced eyes on a new treaty that protected, at least theoretically, the territory he had conquered after 552/555 from being the permanent object of Visigothic interest and revindication.

All these data lead us to the following conclusion : if in c. 552/555 the Byzantine territory was practically circumscribed to the area of the Straits of Gibraltar, and by 565 these holdings had spread to the entire Levant and southern coastal strip of the Iberian Peninsula with important holdings in the hinterland, and if, as we know, those hinterland holdings had been practically lost in 570/571 and that around c. 595, even in this situation, the terms of the treaty did not favor the Visigoths, it seems probable that the treaty referred to in the papal epistle cannot be the same one Justinian would have signed before lending the visigothic pretender his military support. This would be a second treaty that would have been signed once Justinian's troops had occupied more territory than was originally agreed upon. Athanagild, unable to fend off the Byzantines and interested in conquering Cordoba and Seville from the Roman Spaniards who did not want to accept Visigothic rule, would have admitted the legitimacy of Justinian's tenancy of peninsular soil in return for the Byzantines' ceasing to advance. In the same manner it is possible to affirm that if Justinian agreed to sign a second treaty it would be because the relative calm that his extrapeninsular territories had known in the previous years had been broken and he was obliged to protect the endangered areas. Athanagild's position then was no great danger to Justinian's Hispanic conquests so the Emperor would take advantage of the Visigothic situation in *Baetica* to safeguard his territories through a diplomatic agreement in which the Visigoth once again admitted that some peninsular territories belonged to the Roman Empire of the East.

In fact, I think that the Hispanic territories that were conquered by Justinian's troops were not only a legal possession of the Empire, since they had, after all, been territories of the Roman Empire, and this is one of the objectives of the *Renovatio Imperii*, but that also by these two pacts which I feel existed, Justinian had the intention of manoeuvring the Visigoths into also admitting that legally those lands were Byzantine.

However, as we know, Leovigild, one of Athanagild's immediate successors, ignored the treaties and the partial success of his campaigns certainly turned the terms of the treaty to water. Curiously, it is

Recared, the monarch who faces the Empire again recovering ground, who is the one to try to revive the treaty, a circumstance that paradoxically would result in Leovigild's son being disposed to admit that in the eyes of the Visigothic Kingdom, Byzantine presence on the Iberian Peninsula was totally legitimate.

However, there are still various questions. We can understand the reasons why the Visigoth Kingdom, specifically Leovigild, did not preserve the text of the treaty, but not those of the Empire. Why didn't the Empire demand the terms of the treaty be respected in 595, if, according to Gregory the Great, it favored Constantinople so much? Why did the Pope tell Recared that all of Justinian papers had burned?, What was Gregory's position in the Visigothic-Byzantine confrontation? This epistle poses many more questions on the political times than we have answered now.

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DOCUMENTS

DE LATRONE CONVERSO : THE TALE OF THE CONVERTED ROBBER (*BHG 1450kb W861*) (1)

The Tale of the Converted Robber (which appears not previously to have been published in any language) has some very unusual features. But it is not by any means a story which stands outside the tradition of “spiritually beneficial tales” nor even one which presents a succession of peculiarities such as (for instance) The Tale of the Proud Monk (2). It is, to be sure, a tale of lawless, violent men ; of bandits and brigands, but these are not uncommon in the literature of eremitic monachism. One would greatly err in supposing that the life the desert fathers led was one of uninterrupted silence and tranquillity (3). For those men (and women) who had withdrawn from the world had also removed themselves from the protection of such forces of law and order as there were in the *oikoumenê*. This meant that they were particularly vulnerable to the attacks of lawless persons roaming the desert places where *they* also were no doubt seeking to escape from another kind of worldly snare. For the desert provided refuge not only from “the world” but also from its legal processes and was thus the retreat both of holy men and of extremely unholy outlaws, living on what they could purloin. Not a few stories have survived which speak of the

(1) W-numbers refer to J. WORTLEY, *A Répertoire of Byzantine Beneficial Tales*, a systematic listing of over a thousand tales, about to be published.

(2) See J. WORTLEY, *De Monacho superbo : BHG 1450x, a mediaeval Greek anecdote*, in *Florilegium*, 1 (1979), pp. 126-139 and *BHG 1450x : a narratio of rare distinction. First edition of Greek text with introduction and notes*, in *AB*, 100 (1982), pp. 351-363.

(3) See L. REGNAULT, *La vie quotidienne des Pères du Désert en Égypte au iv^e siècle*, Paris-Solesmes, 1990, *passim*.

exploits of these brigands and, hardly surprisingly, in many instances, of their conversion to the monastic way of life.

The oldest example is perhaps the story of Abba Patermouthios, already a legend when Abba Coprès told it to the compiler of *Historia Monachorum in Ægypto* at the end of the fourth century. The first monk ever to establish himself in that particular part of the desert, Abba Patermouthios had previously been a notorious bandit with a bad reputation for robbing (pagan) tombs. That clearly was not his only source of revenue, for one night he attacked "the hermitage of a virgin" intending to make off with all he could find within. He got up onto the roof but could then find neither a way into the cell nor the means of regaining the ground. Sleep overtook him and (as though in a dream) he saw a king who reproved him for his misdeeds. This king also offered him the command of a monastic community if he would abandon his evil ways. When he awoke, the virgin was beside him, speaking to him as to a friend. Following her directions, he went to the church and embraced Christianity. In a remarkably short time he became an illustrious monk and the spiritual father of monks. He was particularly distinguished by the care with which he attended the dying brethren and prepared their corpses for interment. He is one of the very few fathers ever credited with raising the dead (albeit temporarily) and the only one said to have delayed the setting of the sun on one occasion — until he arrived at the village for which he was bound. In short, he became a truly distinguished abba. (4).

One of the most curious of bandit-stories (from the same collection) may be almost as old (5). It is a story of Abba Amoun, a luminary of the desert in the generation before the compilers of *Historia Monachorum in Ægypto* arrived. He was no bandit, but was frequently troubled by bandits. They were always relieving him of bread and his other meagre supplies. So one day he summoned two great serpents from the desert to guard his door. When the bandits saw them, they fell to the ground, half dead. Amoun reproved them for being more savage than the beasts, which, at least, respected Christians. Then he entertained them kindly and they mended their ways. Later (says the story) they too performed similar miracles, which seems to imply that they had joined the monastic ranks, but this is not certain.

(4) *Historia Monachorum in Ægypto*, 10, *passim* and especially, 12-14.

(5) *Ibid.*, 9, 5-7.

Another story in the same collection concerns a monk whom the Jerusalem enquirers actually saw : Abba Theon ⁽⁶⁾. He was an erudite father who lived in silence for thirty years in a desert cell near Oxyrrhynchos and he was famed for his miracles. Every day he would stretch out his hands through the window of his cell to touch the sick and disturbed people who flocked to him for healing. Then one night, when he was alone, bandits attacked, hoping to find much gold. Presumably they imagined — quite incorrectly — that people paid, or made thank-offerings, for the cures they obtained at the hands of the monk. Theon gave himself to prayer and the bandits were immobilised before his door. They were still there when the people in search of cures arrived next morning. These realised what had happened and they were all for delivering the bandits “to the fire,” presumably because they too had suffered at the outlaws’ hands from time to time. To be burnt alive (which seems to be what is implied) might seem a somewhat draconian punishment for banditry, but then it has to be borne in mind that banditry often included murder and many other atrocities ; also that it was an age of draconian punishments so far as the world was concerned. The monks themselves seem to have been somewhat less severe ; we read of a whip reserved for the punishment of bandits at Nitria ⁽⁷⁾. Abba Theon, however, was moved to be even more merciful than the monks of Nitria. For once, he opened his mouth and spoke : “Let them go, safe and sound — or the gift of miracles will desert me”. The bandits regained control of their limbs, but they did not then disappear over the horizon. They entered monasteries in the vicinity where they duly repented of their sins.

Writing perhaps a quarter of a century later than the anonymous author(s) of *Historia Monachorum in Ægypto*, Palladios has left us the most striking example of a bandit-turned-monk : the celebrated Moses the Black ⁽⁸⁾. Presumably of Coptic origin, Moses had formerly served a person of distinction in domestic matters. But his conduct became so disorderly that, slave though he was, his master discharged him. He then took to the life of banditry with a vengeance, becoming the acknowledged chieftain of a band. One of his exploits is recorded : he crossed the Nile and killed an unfortunate shepherd who tried to

(6) *Ibid.*, 6, 1-3

(7) *Historia Lausiaca*, ed. BUTLER, p. 25, 17.

(8) Or “the robber” *ibid.*, c.19 and note 33.

hide himself in the sand. Four of the best sheep were brought back to the other side and eaten ; the fleeces were sold for wine, of which they drank a very great amount and then returned to their band. Exactly what happened to bring about the conversion of Moses is not clear ; the next we hear of him he is well and truly established in a monastery. But then he in turn is attacked by four bandits (who do not realise who he is). Moses, however, has lost none of his former capability for he adroitly binds them and brings them back to the brethren. "It is forbidden for me to harm anybody ; what do you want to become of these fellows ?" he asks. When the four realised who he was and what was happening to them, they decided (perhaps not entirely of their own free-will) that they too would embrace the monastic life. So much for Moses, whom Butler described as "one of the most striking and spiritual figures of the desert".

Neither of the two great sixth-century collections of apophthegmata (*alphabêtikon*, *systematikon*) contains stories of bandits who became monks, but there are two in the early-seventh century *Pratum Spirituale* (9). The first tells of David who was the chief of a band of about thirty robbers in the district of Antinoë. He was responsible for practically every conceivable form of mischief. Then one day, for unspecified reasons, David simply walked away from his band and came knocking at the monastery door. "I want to become a monk" he told the porter, but the higoumen would have refused him. "The brothers here work very hard" he said, noticing that the aspirant was advanced in years [ὄτι γέρων ὑπῆρχεν] "you could not keep up with the rule of the monastery" and so forth. Finally, the other lost patience. "Look here, I am David, the bandit-chief and I have come here to weep for my sins. Either you admit me, or I will go back to being a bandit, bring my comrades, kill you all and overthrow your monastery". Needless to say, the higoumen opted for the lesser of two evils. David was tonsured and, despite the superior's reservations, he soon surpassed all his new brothers in monastic virtues. So much so that one day, he received an angelic message telling him that his sins were now forgiven. Deeply aware of how heinous these had been, David was reluctant to believe the message. The angel threatened him with the same punishment which Zacharias received for his unbelief. David's response shows that he had lost nothing of the forthright manner of

(9) *Cc.* 143 and 166, *PG*, 86, col. 3004C-3005D, 3032D-3033C.

speaking one might well associate with men who feared no authority. In effect, he says to the angel: "It would have made more sense to have deprived me of my powers of speech back in the days when I was performing evil deeds in the world, rather than now when I am here, singing the praises of God". Like the higoumen above, the angel found the logic of the argument convincing. David was permitted to retain his powers of speech, but only for the singing of psalms; never at any other time or for any other purpose. It should be added that John Moschos' informant claimed to have seen David, which would indicate that all this took place in the middle or later-middle sixth century.

The other story from *Pratum Spirituale* is much more sombre. It concerns a bandit who became a monk in a Palestinian lavra and then was hidden by the monks in a monastery near Gaza. After nine years of honest perseverance there he returned to the abba who had tonsured him ⁽¹⁰⁾ and asked to be secularised: "Give me back my lay clothes" he said. (This, incidentally, is the only case of a monk asking to be secularised in the whole of the "tales"-tradition which has yet come to my notice.) The monk explained to the reluctant father that, in spite of his diligence in penitence, he was ever haunted by the vision of a child he had murdered, reproving him for his crime. He put on his lay-clothes and went to Diospolis (Lydda). He was arrested and, the next day, beheaded.

Not by any means do all the tales of bandits end up with the malefactors being converted to the monastic way of life. We might consider the story of Spyridon, for instance, in the *alphabêtikon*, a man who was a *pastor* in both senses of the word: both a bishop (at Trimithuntes) and a shepherd. Bandits came by night to steal from the sheepfold — but found themselves bound tightly to its fence by invisible powers. Next morning the episcopal shepherd came, admonished them, released them and gave them a ram for good measure. This might have been to encourage them to breed sheep rather than to steal them.

There is a story which recurs in the tradition of bandits who repent when, as they withdraw from a monastery which they have thoroughly looted, an elder presents them with something which they have over-

(10) It must be the abba who tonsured him who secularises him — on the basis of the axiom that only he who bound can loose. This is frequently recurring theme in the tales-tradition; cf. *BHG*, 1322d,e / W001; 1322u,v / W040; 1449g / W706, 1449s / W039; 1277a/1449q / W717, *Hist. Laus.*, c.70 / W220 etc.

looked (11). They are so impressed that they restore all and go their way in wonder at the holiness of the elder. But it does not always work out like that. We hear of one father, following the example in the *apophthegmata*, who offers to some bandits who are robbing the place three pieces of gold which they had overlooked, and they take them (12)! On the other hand, when Abba Euprepios offered bandits his staff (which was the only thing they had not taken from him,) they refused it. So he sent it along with others who were going in the same direction (13).

Bandits were evil men to be sure, but they were not all devoid of goodness, as some tales tell. For instance: it was a well known fact that Abba Paphnoutios drank no wine. One day he came across some bandits sitting drinking. Their chief knew him and knew he drank no wine; yet, seeing the father wearied by his journey (*i.e.*, meaning no harm,) he came to him with a cup in one hand and a sword in the other. "Drink this wine" he said, "or I will kill you". Paphnoutios did as he was bidden — and then the chief was ashamed of what he had done. But the abba's gentle retort won him over: "I believe that for the sake of this cup (*cf.* Mt. 10: 42) God will have mercy on you in this world and in the next". The chief said: "I believe in God, for from this time on I will harm no-one any more", and the elder acquired the entire band because he renounced his own will for the sake of the Lord" (14).

John Moschos tells a sad story of a Palestinian bandit, Cyriacos the Wolf, who afflicted the region of Emmaus (Nicopolis.) He and his band (which included Christians, Jews and Samaritans) terrorised the local population with their inhuman cruelty. One day, when the chief was not there, the band fell on a company returning from Jerusalem with the infants who had just been baptised there. The men fled while the band made off with and raped the women, leaving the newly-baptised infants lying on the ground. The bandit-chief met the fleeing men and, on learning what had happened, hastened to remedy the situation. He beheaded the members of his band who had perpetrated the atrocity and restored the babies to their fathers (the

(11) *E.g.* in PELAGIUS and JOHN (the *systematikon*), 16, 13; ZOSIMUS, 12; NAU, 337.

(12) *Pratum Spirituale*, c. 212; PG, col.3104C-3105B.

(13) EUPREPIOS, 2 in the *alphabêtikon*, PG, 65, col. 172B

(14) PAPHNOUTIOS 2 in the *alphabêtikon*, PG, 65, col. 377C-380A.

mothers being reluctant to receive them in their soiled condition). Then he saw the whole company safely home. Some time later he was arrested and gaoled, but after ten years, he was released. He always believed that it was because he had saved the newly-baptised infants that he escaped execution ⁽¹⁵⁾.

A yet later tale, from the time when the disciples of the Prophet were beginning to trouble the desert (*i.e.* well into the seventh century) tells of an elder who lived seventy years in the desert in great asceticism without receiving any sign or vision from God. He prayed about this and was rewarded by a heavenly voice which told him to go into the inner desert. When he got there he was seized by a bandit who could scarcely conceal his delight. For (said he) the monk would be his one-hundredth kill and would thus ensure him of the joys of paradise. The elder asked for a last drink of water before he died and the bandit not only agreed to this request, but went himself to get the water. As he stooped down to the river, however, he seems to have had a heart attack, for he fell down dead. The heavenly voice came again to the monk, this time telling him to give the dead man a decent burial : he had earned it by his obedience, that is, by his willingness to fulfill the monk's request ⁽¹⁶⁾.

Such is the background against which the Tale of the Converted Robber is to be seen. It will quickly be noted that in some ways it fits very easily into the general picture. There is a band of robbers with an outstanding chieftain. Some deed of particular gravity is planned and partially executed, but takes an unexpected turn as a result of which all the robbers end up monks. Not all the stories mentioned above follow that outline all the way, but almost every one of them represents some segment of it. The underlying message is nearly always perceptible : brigands might be the dregs of society and the most feared members of it, but they are still men, formed in the image of God. And when the conditions are right, even these most depraved beings, guilty of the worst crimes imaginable, can cast off their evil ways (by the grace of God) and embrace the angelic profession. In this, too, the present tale is no exception ; it runs true to form.

(15) *Pratum Spirituale*, c.165, *PG*, 86, col. 3032B-D.

(16) *BHG*, 1450q, W843, *de anachoreta et latrone* (unpublished.)

Yet it does have some remarkable features. In the first place, it has to do with a ladies' monastery or convent. Convents do not figure very often in the tales, nor for that matter in early Christian literature generally. Gregory of Nazianzen makes a reference to a *παρθένων* which is undoubtedly a ladies' monastery (17). The two references to a *παρθένων* in *Historia Lausiaca* (18) leave it open to doubt whether these were really religious communities or merely retreats for single ladies. Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. ca. 466,) however, has a story which makes it clear that there were several convents in the Antioch-region in his time. There was a *débauché*, a former *στρατηγός*, who had an unmarried girl in his service whom he desired (she was of marriageable age). She left her family and fled to a women's residence where there was a community of ascetics. The master was so angry that he seized the mother of the girl, beat her and hung her up until she revealed in *which* convent the girl was hiding. Blindness intervened to prevent him searching further, but the message is clear : there were too many convents in the area for him to search them one at a time (19).

The convent in the present story was in one of the suburbs of Antioch and, from the fact that the brigands could contemplate an attack on it, one might conclude that it was on the very edge of the inhabited area ; even perhaps a little way out into the country, since it was obviously very securely fortified against attack. There were sixty sisters living there and it was (presumably) sufficiently wealthy to make it an attractive prize for the robbers.

Now a second remarkable feature of this tale becomes apparent. The arch-brigand asks his twelve-member gang how entrance is to be effected ; one of them comes up with a rather pedestrian suggestion, which is turned down. Then the chief shows how intelligence might succeed where violence will fail : he will disguise himself in the cowl of a mesopotamian [monk], clearly a reference to some distinctive feature of a monk of Mesopotamia (possibly a monophysite) as opposed to one of Egypt or of Syria-Palestine. No other brigand-story credits the lawless men with intelligence of this order.

(17) *PG*, 36, col. 577A ; see LAMPE, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v.

(18) *Cc.* 203, 205 — but see P. BROWN, *The Body and Society*, New York, 1988, pp. 264-266.

(19) THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Philotheos Historia*, 9, 12, *SC*, 234 (1977), 257 (1979).

The ruse works and in he goes, but the sixty sisters mistake him for a holy man. He is received with great honour according to custom. We may compare a passage that Gregory of Nyssa included in his *Life of Macrina*, c. 16: (when the brotherhood heard of Gregory's approach) "the entire group of men came out of the monastery to meet me; it is their custom so to honour whom they are pleased to receive by going out to meet them. For *their* part, the choir of virgins, arranged in good order by the church, awaited our entry" (20). They likewise proceed to wash his feet and then to receive a blessing from the water in which they were washed. Then one sister who has been paralysed for many years is restored to health on contact with that water. This is the point at which the story takes a most unusual turn. Few in the Byzantine world would have disputed that miraculous cures did occur from time to time, often in connection with holy objects such as relics. There was general agreement about how these miracles came about. The relics of the saints were regarded as an extension of their presence beyond death in a way analogous to the continuous presence of Jesus in the sacramental species. So the relics themselves were in some sense "divinised," *i.e.* possessed of divine life, since it was by divinisation that saints became saints. Thus the relics were important means of grace: "breaches in the dyke between heaven and earth" (as Peter Brown once described icons) through which prayers could be hastened on their way and blessings be received.

One would have thought that so important an idea, especially if (as seems to be the case) it was one easily discerned in the earliest strata of Christian belief, would have been treated at some length by at least one of the fathers, but such appears not to have been the case. Perhaps this was because nobody ever thought it necessary to explain these things, any more than one had to teach a man to breathe. But it means that to reconstruct the living tradition concerning the relics, one has to glean material from secondary clauses and subsidiary statements in a small number of writings on other subjects which accidentally mention relics. Even when it is done, the gleanings hardly amounts to a systematic theology of relics. Little, in fact, can be added to what Cyril of Jerusalem wrote about the Prophet Elisha...

(20) *Vita Macrinae*, c. 16 and see notes 3 and 4 *ad loc.*, ed. P. MARVEL, SC, 178 (1971).

... who twice raised the dead : once in his lifetime and once after he died. Whilst he was alive, he brought about a resurrection by his own *ψυχή*, but we are not only to honour the *souls* of the righteous ; we are also to believe that power (*δύναμις*) reposes in their corpses, for when the dead man was cast into the grave of Elisha, that man was revitalised on contact with the prophet and the body of the prophet provided the dead man with a soul. The dead and buried gave life to the dead. Yet that which provided life *itself* remained dead. Why was this ? Since Elisha did not revive, it was so that the deed should not be imputed to his soul alone ; and to demonstrate that, even when the soul has departed, there remains a certain *δύναμις* in the bodies of the saints, because they have been inhabited for so many years by righteous souls whose ministers they were. And let us not be lacking in belief that this is so, little children. For if handkerchieves and *σμηκύνθια* (which are external things) raised up the sick on contact with their bodies, how much more likely is it that the body of the prophet itself raised the dead man ⁽²¹⁾ ?

At the end of this passage Cyril is referring to a passage in *Acts* which had considerable influence on the theory and practice of relic-devotion :

God worked extraordinary miracles (*δυνάμεις*) by the hands of Paul to the extent that it sufficed merely to apply handkerchieves or linens (*σουδάρια ἢ σμηκύνθια* which had been in contact with his body to the sick ; then they were cured of their diseases and the evil spirits went out of them ⁽²²⁾).

This is clearly a reference to *indirect* healing by an intermediary substance, not too different from the case of the woman in the gospel who had haemorrhaged for twelve years. She was cured merely by touching the hem of the garment of Jesus, at which point he is said to have been aware that power (*δύναμις*) had gone out of him ⁽²³⁾. Peter and John appear to have healed the lame man at the Gate Beautiful merely by looking into his eyes and elsewhere the mere shadow of Peter is said to have worked cures ⁽²⁴⁾. In the process of time the idea that healing *δύναμις* could be communicated indirectly

(21) CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Catacheses*, 18. 16, *PG*, 33, col. 1036B-1037A [my translation], referring to 2/4 Kings 13, 20-21. There is a similar exegesis of the same passage in *Constitutiones Apostolicae*, 6, 30, *PG*, 5, col. 988-989.

(22) Acts 19, 12 - 12.

(23) Mk 5, 26-34 [Mt 9, 20-22 ; Lk 8, 43-48].

(24) Acts 3, -12 ; Acts 15, 5.

by material objects was developed to considerable lengths: the very dust, for instance, from a martyr's shrine or a liquid poured over his bones could mediate *δύναμις*. Or, to cite an extreme example, even the fruit of a tree which had grown from the staff of a martyr was considered to be wonder-working (25).

Whatever the process of communication might be, that which was communicated was from God, in accordance with the text "Every good gift and every perfect endowment is from above, coming down from the Father of Lights" (26). Moreover, what made this communication possible was the outstanding holiness of the person of the first party. Had the Byzantine world been asked whether that role could possibly be served by a person who was an arch-robber and a perpetrator of evil deeds, the unanimous response would have been that it could not. And yet here we have a tale in which the healing grace of God is alleged to have been communicated by means of a wicked imposter's bath-water. It says something which is very rarely said elsewhere: it says that in this case, the healing of the paralysed sister took place within the subjective processes of her own mind, not by the intervention of the healing *δύναμις* of the Almighty, or at least not so by the usual channels. (Note that in the longer version she is made to attribute her cure to the *prayers* of the holy man. If this was an attempt to save the situation, it only results in rendering the irony of it the more acute.) That a subjective element is necessary for a healing to take place is perfectly clear: "Thy faith hath made thee whole" is axiomatic. But in the vast majority of recorded cases, the faith of the individual cooperates with a means of *δύναμις* to produce the required results. No doubt many of the relics in circulation were not what they purported to be, but it is almost unknown for a hagiographical source to admit that, or to suggest that healing occurred other than in the accepted manner. However, our story of the Converted Robber is not unique in this respect.

In the twenty-fourth miracle of SS. Cosmas and Damian, two people, a lame man and a dumb woman, are cured, ostensibly by the intervention of the saints, but in fact (and very obviously) by shock (27).

(25) See (e.g.) *The Passion of Saint Themistocles*, c. 24, ed. J. WORTLEY, *AB*, 94 (1976), p. 32.

(26) James I, 17.

(27) *Kosmas und Damien, Texte und Einleitung*, ed. L. DEUBNER, Leipzig-Berlin, 1907, "Wunder" 24, pp. 162-164.

There is a similar case in the west, in an anecdote told by Jacques de Vitry. It is short enough to quote in its entirety :

I heard that many lame and deformed persons assembled at the tomb of a certain saint to be cured. But when they had been there two days and had still not been healed, they wanted to leave .. The priest addressed them : "Do you want to be healed, so that you can go and run of your own accord ?" They replied : "We do want that, sir". Then said the priest : "Throw away all your canes" and when they were thrown away : "Wait a little until fire is brought. For he who is the most disabled amongst us must be burnt. Then I will cast the ashes of his body over the others and they will be healed". Each and every one of them now became very afraid that he would be judged to be the most disabled, and thus be burned. Each began to force himself to such an extent that they all at once began to run away. Not one of them remained who did not leave the place without a cane : fear adds wings to feet ⁽²⁸⁾!

In short : our tale, though unusual, is not altogether *ἄπαξ*.

The text of the Tale of the Converted Robber has survived in two forms which can conveniently be identified by reference to the Greek manuscripts as *APK* and *TE*; the second of these is almost twice as long as the former. There is little doubt that the shorter form is the older, not only because it is axiomatic (by and large) that tales tend to lengthen out rather than contract, but also because whereas it is easy enough to see how and why it was extended (see below), it is very unlikely that an abbreviator of *TE* would have produced *APK* or anything like it. As it stands, *APK* possibly dates back to the end of the period in which the apophthegmatic tales flourished, *i.e.* to the first half of the seventh century, for even this shorter version has detail and narrative of an order which set it apart from the succinct, laconic tales of the sixth century. There are ironic twists and hidden implications in it which are not to be discerned even in the more elaborate stories of John Moschos.

Our shorter version, however, is not by any means wholly original. This is scarcely surprising, given the abundant evidence that a tradition of tale-telling preceded and for a long time ran alongside the practice

(28) *The Exempla or illustrative stories from the 'sermones vulgares' of Jacques de Vitry* [Jacobus Vitriacensis], ed. T. FREDERICK CRANE, *Publications of the Folk-Lore Society*, 26 (London, 1890), no. 254.

of tale-writing. In most cases one can do little more than guess at the oral tradition from which a written tale sprang and catch glimpses of it in subsequent written versions. But here there appears to be a written version of its predecessor. It is not so much an earlier version of the same tale, but rather a slightly different tale containing many elements which turn up again — in the same order — in the Tale of the Converted Robber. The tale in question is one of the tales of the sixth-century Daniel of Scêtê which his disciple carefully preserved. Unlike (for instance) the tales of Anastasios the Sinaïte or of Paul of Monembasia, these are not stories which the eponymous hero told, but mostly stories *about* him. The collection is in fact entitled *Tà κατὰ ἀββᾶν Δαυιήλ*, “The File on Daniel” as we might say today ⁽²⁹⁾.

The text in question is entitled The Tale of the Virgin who used to Pretend to be Drunk ⁽³⁰⁾. Here is a translation of the relevant passage from the middle section of it with the passages which suggest similarity with the Tale of the Converted Robber in italics :

When [Daniel of Scêtê] came to Hermopolis, he said to his disciple : “Go and *knock at that women’s monastery known at Abba Jeremiah’s*”. *There are about three hundred nuns living there.* The disciple *went and knocked* ; the portress said to him in a small voice : “Welcome, true believer ; what can I do for you ?” He said to her : “*Call the mother-archimandrite for I wish to speak with her*”. The other replied : “She never meets with anybody ; but tell me what it is you want and I will speak to her”. He said : “Tell her *a certain monk* wishes to speak with her”. She went and told her ; then the higoumenê came and said to the brother in a small voice : “The amma sent me to ask you what you want” to which the brother retorted : “*That you would do us the favour of letting us sleep here, I and the elder, so that we not be devoured by wild beasts, for it is evening*”. The amma said to him : “No man ever came in here ; it is better for you to be devoured by wild beasts outside than to be inside”. The brother said : “It is Abba Daniel of Scêtê [who seeks shelter]”. When she heard this, she opened both doors and went out at a run and so did all the community and they made a carpet of their stoles stretching from the door down to where the

(29) See *BHG*, 2099z-2102d etc.) many of its items were edited by L. CLUGNET in *ROC*, 5 (1900), pp. 49-73 and 370-391.

(30) No. 7 in CLUGNET’S collection, No. 3 *pace* HALKIN and W461 in WORTLEY’S *Répertoire of beneficial tales*, *BHG*, 2101, *de virgine quae ebrietatem simulabat*. A very determined eye might even detect a similarity to *De latrone converso* in that *simulabat*.

elder was, grovelling at his feet and licking his soles. When he came into the monastery, the lady [-abbess] *brought the great basin and filled it with warm water and herbs. She drew up the sisters in two choirs and they washed the elder's feet*, also the disciple's. Then, taking another vessel, she brought the sisters [close] and taking water from the basin, *she poured it on their heads. Then she poured some on her own breast and head.* The sisters all looked like stone, motionless and silent. Their entire concern was the divine office and in that they were as the angels. Then the elder said to the higoumenê : "Are they honouring us or are the sisters always like this ?" She said : "Your servants are always like this, lord-and-master [δέσποτα], but pray for them". The elder said : "Tell my disciple ... [lacuna ?] *one [of the sisters] lay sleeping in the forecourt dressed in tattered rags.* The elder asked : "Who is this, sleeping here ?" [The higoumenê] said : "It is one of the sisters ; she is a drunkard and we do not know what to do with her. We fear we will stand accused if we throw her out of the monastery, and if we leave her here, she degrades the sisters". The elder said to his disciple : "*Get the basin and throw it on her*". When he had done this, *she revived* as though from a drunken stupor. The amma said : "She is always like this, lord-and-master" (31).

The rest of the story tells how it was revealed to Daniel that the sister was in fact a very holy person and it ends with the aphorism so familiar to readers of the stories of holy fools : "How many hidden servants He has, [and they are known to Him alone]" (πόσους κρυπτούς ἔχει δούλους [καὶ μόνῳ αὐτῷ γνώριμοί εἰσιν]).

The structural similarities are even more striking than the particulars : One thought to be a monk gains unusual access to a large ladies' monastery where he is welcomed and honoured as a great holy man by the entire community. He has his feet washed by all. The water is then used as an εὐλογία for the sisters as a whole and for one lying sick in particular in whom it produces (or allows to be revealed) extraordinary effects. The similarities seem to be too many and too close for there not to be a very close connection between the two stories. There is however this one and very important difference : Daniel was a highly respected member of the most prestigious of monastic communities : Skêtê, presumably a person of unquestioned piety (32). The

(31) Ed. CLUGNET, pp. 68-69 (our translation.)

(32) See D. J. CHITTY, *The Desert a City*, Oxford, 1966, reprint 1977, pp. 145-147.

anonymous hero of *BHG* 1450kb is a thief, a vagabond and (clearly) a crafty rascal. What on earth possessed a writer to substitute *him* for the sage of Skêtê one can only guess. A sense of humour is rarely encountered in the literature of eremitic monachism, but malice is not unknown; it could have been either in this case.

The motives of the redactor who developed the longer version out of the shorter are more readily identified. It is this longer version which is of the greater interest from a literary point of view, for the characteristics of the *récit tardif* (33) are clearly discernible here. *E.g.*, it attempts to reproduce the characteristics of an earlier tale (which may itself be founded on a yet older one), to expand and to enhance the appeal of the original(s). Thus we note how the redactor of the longer version has treated his material. The main feature of his work is that it draws out and intensifies the irony of the story. He exploits to the full the brigand's mounting confusion as he confronts first the entire assembled company of sisters and then their embarrassing devotion to him. The redactor does this (for instance) by giving the fellow two speeches (instead of one) in which he attempts — in vain of course — to protest his unworthiness. The irony is further intensified by the sisters' response to his first protest: they take it to be a demonstration of his great humility. But there are many other, lesser, ways in which the appeal of the story has been heightened. There is (for instance) the manifestly irritated response of the robbers after their chief has derided all their suggestions for getting into the monastery. The action is now protracted by the chieftain first telling the band what *he* is going to do and say, then going ahead and doing it — the description being modified at each telling. (The reference to a Mesopotamian [monk] was presumably omitted because nobody would know what it meant any more after the loss of the eastern provinces.)

Once the robber-chief is in the monastery, details are given of how the sisters assemble, all two hundred and sixty of them, not the mere sixty of the older version (34). A mere hint in the older version has

(33) See J. WORTLEY, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie, et d'autres auteurs*, Paris, 1987, Introduction.

(34) Theodoret says that in his time (early fifth century) there were many women who had embraced the monastic life, living in the hinterland of Antioch either as recluses or in communities, to the number of about *two hundred and fifty*, all sleeping on the same lowly mats, using their hands to process wool and their tongues to sing hymns (*Philotheos Historia*, 30, 4.) The Daniel of Skêtê story translated above says

been seized upon to locate the sick sister *in an upper room*, and to say that she was a *paralytic* — details with no doubt deliberate overtones recalling the Gospel stories of the ministry of Christ. As in the case of the chieftain's entry, we have two accounts of the sister's healing : first of what actually happened, then her own words describing it before the assembled community. The first of these is given a quasi-evangelical termination : "This was done that the scripture might be fulfilled" followed by a citation of a very rarely quoted text [Mt 10 : 41] which nevertheless is not impertinent here. It is, however, the last scene, in which one has to imagine the dialogue between the chieftain and his band being shouted through a still-closed gate, which achieves the rare quality (almost completely unknown in spiritually beneficial tales) of being at once hilarious and deadly serious.

To be sure, the longer version is a *relique de Byzance* rather than of eremitic monachism. It is a fine piece of re-writing, obviously from the pen of one who knew what he was doing most of the time. One can only repeat of him what was said of Paul of Monembasia : "Il eût fallu qu'il préparât le chemin pour un Boccace byzantin". Whilst there is not the slightest indication that such a one came after him, some lesser man did expand his work just a little further. He added a beginning and an ending to the tale which are worth noting.

Incipit :

One of the fathers told us that a certain *ταξεώτης* [magistrate's officer] living in Tyre told something of this sort : that in one of the suburbs of Antioch there is a ladies' monastery ...

Desinit :

"... and we [robbers] will become monks too". The man of Tyre who told us these things persuaded us that they [?] went to Antioch and found the *ἀσκητήριον* and learnt these things from those [in it] and that [the robbers] did indeed become monks, by which means we were brought to a full belief in this story. One should glorify God in this and in all things. For often when we do not seek to fear the holy God, He has a way of catching the souls of some of us within His holy net and fishing them out for salvation ⁽³⁵⁾.

there were "about three hundred nuns" living at Abba Jeremiah's monastery, but that was at Hermopolis in Egypt, not Antioch in Syria.

(35) *Cod. Paris. graec.* 1596, p. 361

TEXTS

BHG 1450kb : De latrone converso, διήγησις ψυχωφελής

1. Recensio brevior, APK :

P Cod. Paris. graec. 1598 (AD 1071-2), ff. 196^v-198

A Cod. Athen. B.N. 513 (saec. XIII), ff. 239-240

K Cod. Paris. graec. 1313 (saec. XV), ff. 262-264^v

2. Recensio longior, LT :

L Cod. Londin. addit. 28270 (AD 1111), ff. 35-38

T Cod. Escorial ΩIII.14 (AD 1285), ff. 146^v-148^v

Also consulted :

Cod. Paris. graec. 1596, p. 361 ss.

Other manuscripts known of but not seen :

Cod. monac. graec. 524 (saec. XIV), ff. 134-135

Cod. Escorial. R.II.1, f. 225

Cod. Athos Dimitriou 13 (saec. XVI-XVII), ff. 95s.

De latrone converso, recensio APK (brevior)

διηγήσατό τις τῶν πατέρων ὅτι εἰς ἓν τῶν προαστείων ¹ Ἀντιοχείας μοναστήριον ² ἐστὶ γυναικῶν παρθένων ἕως τῶν ἐξήκοντα ³. ἔστι ⁴ δὲ ὠχυρωμένον ⁵. λησταὶ δὲ τινὲς τὸν ἀριθμὸν δώδεκα μετὰ ⁶ τοῦ ⁷ ἀρχιληστοῦ ⁸ ἐβουλεύσαντο ⁹ ἐπιπεσεῖν ¹⁰ αὐταῖς. ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ ἀρχιληστής ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν. “πῶς δυνάμεθα ¹¹ εἰσελθεῖν ἔσω ¹² ;” καὶ ¹³ εἶπεν εἰς ἕξ ⁵ αὐτῶν. “παρέρχομαι ὅλον τὸ μοναστήριον καὶ ¹⁴ πάντως δεῖ μοι εὐρεῖν ἀγωγὸν ἢ ἄλλο τίποτε δι’ οὗ δυνάμεθα εἰσελθεῖν”. λέγει αὐτῷ ¹⁵. “οὐδὲν οἶδας”· ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἠρώτησεν ¹⁶ καὶ ἐκάστῳ ¹⁷ ἔλεγεν. “οὐδὲν οἶδας ¹⁸”. λέγουσιν ¹⁹ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι ²⁰. “σύ, τί λέγεις ;” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ²¹. “λαμβάνω μεσοποταμινοῦ ²² κουκούλλιον ²³ καὶ κρύβω ²⁴ ἔσω ²⁵ τὰς τρίχας ¹⁰ μου καὶ φορῶν τὸ παλλίον ²⁶ καὶ ²⁷ τὸ σπαθίον εἰς τὸν μηρόν μου· καὶ ἀπέρχομαι ὁπὲ ²⁸ σκοτίας οὐσης ὡς μοναχὸς ξένος ²⁹ καὶ λέγω τῇ θυρωρῷ

¹ + τῆς Q — ² μοναστήριον γυναικῶν παρθένων ἐστὶ ἕως τῶν ζ' P — ³ ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα τριῶν Q — ⁴ ἦν δὲ Q — ⁵ + πάνυ A — ⁶ + καὶ P — ⁷ τοῦ om. K — ⁸ + αὐτῶν A — ⁹ ἐπεβουλεύσαντο K + ἄφνω A — ¹⁰ ἐπιθέσθαι K — ¹¹ δυνησώμεθα K — ¹² om. K, + μοναστηρίου A — ¹³ καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἰς ε.α. εἶπεν A, καὶ εἰπόντος τοῦ πρώτου διέρχομαι K — ¹⁴ καὶ δη πάντως (?) εὐρίσκω ἀγωγὸν ἢ ἀλλότοδι δι' αὐ κ.τ.λ. K — ¹⁵ καὶ εἰπόντος τοῦ πρώτου K — ¹⁶ ἠρώτα K, ἐρωτήσας A — ¹⁷ ἕκαστον K, ἔλεγεν ἐκάστῳ A — ¹⁸ οἶδατε K — ¹⁹ ἔφησαν A — ²⁰ κάκεῖνοι A — ²¹ + ἐγώ A — ²² μηδαμῖνοῦ μοναχοῦ K — ²³ + καὶ παλλίον καὶ ζώνην K — ²⁴ ῥίπτω K — ²⁵ ἔσωθεν A — ²⁶ τὸ παλλῖον P, > τὸ στιχάριον K — ²⁷ δείσας PA, τὸ σπάθην AP, + μου AK — ²⁸ πότε K — ²⁹ om. K —

ὅτι ³⁰ ξένος εἰμὶ καὶ αἰσχύνομαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ εἰς μαρτύριον ἀπελθεῖν ³¹, διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐ θέλω. ἀλλὰ ποιήσον ἀγάπην διὰ τὸν
 15 Θεὸν καὶ δός μοι ἓν ³² ψιάθιον καὶ λάβε με ἔσωθεν ³³ τῆς θύρας ἵνα κοιμηθῶ καὶ ἀπέρχομαι τὸ πρῶτ' ³⁴ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν μου ³⁵". ἡ δὲ ³⁶ θυρωρὸς ³⁷ ὡς παρὰ ἀγίου ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ³⁸, χαίρουσα ἀπήγγειλεν τῇ ἡγουμένῃ ³⁹. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπανουργέυσατο ἐκεῖνος ἵνα τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνοίξῃ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ⁴⁰. ἡ δὲ ἡγουμένη ⁴¹ ἐκέλευσεν ⁴² αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν ⁴³. καὶ συναγαγοῦσα ⁴⁴ τὴν
 20 ἀδελφότητα ⁴⁵, ἦλθεν ⁴⁶ εὐλογηθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ ληστοῦ ⁴⁷ καὶ ἐκέλευσε νιπτῆρα ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἔστησαν ⁴⁸ δύο χοροὶ ⁴⁹ καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἔνιψαν ⁵⁰ καὶ εὐλογηθήσαν πᾶσαι ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ¹. μία δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπηρέτει ² ἀδελφῇ ἀσθενούσῃ ³ ἣτις ἀνέκειτο ⁴ ἔχουσα ἐνιαυτὸν κατακειμένη. αὕτη οὖν ἡ ὑπηρετοῦσα ⁵ λαβοῦσα ἐκ τοῦ νίματος ὕδωρ ⁶ ἀπῆλθεν λέγουσα τῇ
 25 ἀσθενούσῃ. "μέγας ἄνθρωπος ⁷ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ἡμῶν καὶ ἐνίψαμεν αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶσαι εὐλογήθημεν. καὶ λαβοῦσα ⁸ ἠνεγκα ⁹ ἵνα καὶ σὺ ¹⁰ μετασχῆς ¹¹ τοῦ ἀγιασμοῦ. ἡ δὲ ἀσθενούσα νιψαμένη μετὰ πίστεως ¹² παραχρῆμα ὑγίανεν. μελλούσης δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ¹³ κατελθεῖν, εἶπεν ¹⁴ αὐτῇ ¹⁵ "μεῖνον ¹⁶ καὶ ὅμου κατερχόμεθα ἵνα καγὼ εὐλογηθῶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀγίου
 30 γέροντος". ἀναστᾶσα οὖν συγκατῆλθεν αὐτῇ καὶ ἠνεγκεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν ἀρχιληστήν ¹⁷ καὶ διηγήσατο ¹⁸ τὸ θαῦμα. ὡς οὖν εἶδον πᾶσαι αἱ ἀδελφαὶ τὸ θαῦμα ¹⁹, ἐκπλαγεῖς ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ ²⁰ τοῦ θαύματος ²¹ καὶ προσεκυλινδοῦντο ²² τοῖς ποσὶν τοῦ ἀρχιληστοῦ ²³. ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε καὶ εἶδε ταῦτα ²⁴, ἐκπλαγεῖς καὶ κατανυγεῖς, λέγει αὐταῖς. "ὁ

³⁰ (ὅτι ξένος κ.τ.λ.) τῇ θυρωρῷ + δοῦναι μοι ψιάθιον καὶ ἔρχεσθαι τὴν νύκτα καὶ ἀνοίγω ὑμῖν καὶ εἰσερχόμεθα. καὶ ἀπῆγεν ὁ ἀρχιληστής καὶ εἶπεν τῇ θυρωρῷ K — ³¹ (καὶ εἰς μαρτύριον ἀπέλθειν) om. A, εἰς μαρτ. δ.τ.γ. ἀπελθεῖν K — ³² om. K — ³³ βάλε με ἔσω K — ³⁴ ἀπελθὼν αὔριον K — ³⁵ + καὶ ἤρεσεν ἅπασιν ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἀρχιληστῆ. αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐποίησεν A — ³⁶ εἰ οὖν A — ³⁷ om. K, + τοῦ μοναστηρίου A — ³⁸ om. K — ³⁹ χαρεῖσα εἶπεν τῇ καθηγουμένῃ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ ληστοῦ K — ⁴⁰ (τοῦτο δὲ ... λοιποῖς) om. K — ⁴¹ om. K, + νομίσασα εἶναι τινα τῶν μεγάλων ἀναχωρητῶν A — ⁴² ἐκελεύσαιεν A — ⁴³ τοῦτον εἰσαγαγεῖν K, + ἔσω A — ⁴⁴ συνάξασα K — ⁴⁵ + πᾶσαν A — ⁴⁶ + πρὸς αὐτὸν μετ' αὐτῶν θέλουσα K — ⁴⁷ παρ' αὐτοῦ AK — ⁴⁸ ἐστάθησαν K, + αἱ ἀδελφαὶ A — ⁴⁹ + ἄδουσαι A — ⁵⁰ ἐνίψεν αὐτόν K — ¹ νίματος K, + ῥαντισθεῖσαι A — ² ὑπηρεταί P — ³ om. K — ⁴ + ἐν τῷ ἀνωγέῳ K — ⁵ (κατακειμένη ... ὑπηρετοῦσα) > παραλυθεῖσα τὸ σῶμα ἡ δὲ ὑπηρετρία αὐτῆς K — ⁶ + ὀλίγον A — ⁷ ἅγιος K — ⁸ λαβοῦσα om. K — ⁹ + σοί K, + καί σε ἐκ τοῦ ἀγίου νίματος A — ¹⁰ (καί σου) om. K — ¹¹ μεθέξῃς A, + ἐκ K — ¹² (νιψαμένη μετὰ πίστεως) > ὡς ἐνίψατο παρὰ τῆς ὑπερετούσεις αὐτῇ K — ¹³ (τῆς ἀδελφῆς) > αὐτῆς K — ¹⁴ ἔφησεν A — ¹⁵ + ἡ κάμνουσα A, ἡ ἀσθενούσα K — ¹⁶ + μικρόν A — ¹⁷ νομιζόμενον ἅγιον A — ¹⁸ διηγήσαντο A — ¹⁹ παράδοξον A — ²⁰ ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπερφυές A — ²¹ (ὡς οὖν ... θαύματος) > καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἀδελφαὶ ἰδοῦσαι τὴν παραλυτικὴν περιπατοῦσαν, ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τὸ παραδόξῳ θεάματι K — ²² προσέπιπτον A — ²³ (καὶ προσεκυλινδοῦντο ... ἀρχιληστοῦ) om. K, + εὐχὴν ἐξαιτούμεναι A — ²⁴ (καὶ εἶδε ταῦτα) > ἐκεῖνος K, + ὁ ἀρχιληστής A —

θεὸς οἶδε ²⁵, μητέρες, ὅτι ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ἁμαρτωλὸς καὶ ἀρχιληστής · καὶ ³⁵
 μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι ἄλλοι δώδεκα λησταὶ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ²⁶. ἀλλὰ
 μὴ ²⁷ φοβήθητε ²⁸”, καὶ ἐξενέγκας τὸ σπαθίον ἔρριψεν χαμαί ²⁹. αἱ δὲ ³⁰
 παρθένοι, ἀκούσασαι ταῦτα ³¹ καὶ ἰδοῦσαι τὸ ξίφος ³² ἔρριμμένον χαμαί,
 ἀπεπάγησαν ³³ καὶ ἔμειναν ἀπὸ ὀψὲ ἕως πρωῒ ἀντιφωνῶσαι καὶ ψάλλουσαι
 ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ³⁴. ὡς δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ³⁵ λησταί, ἐξελθὼν ὁ ἀρχιληστής ³⁶, ⁴⁰
 διαγήσατο αὐτοῖς πάντα καὶ ὅτι ³⁷ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ³⁸ γίνομαι μοναχός ³⁹

P

K

A

οἱ δὲ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ
 εἶπον αὐτῷ “καὶ εἰ
 σὺ τοιοῦτος ὢν δυ-
 νατὸς γίνεαι, ἀληθῶς
 καὶ ἡμεῖς μοναχοὶ γι-
 νόμεθα,” καὶ ἐποίη-
 σαν οὕτως καθὼς
 ἡμᾶς ἐπιστεύσαντο οἱ
 αὐτοὺς θεασάμενοι ·
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀκούσαντες
 ἔδοξασάμεν τὸν θεόν.

οἱ δὲ ἑταῖροι εἶπον
 αὐτῷ “εἰ σὺ τοιοῦτος
 μοναχὸς γίνεαι, ἀληθῶς
 σοι λέγομεν γινόμεθα
 καὶ ἡμεῖς μοναχοί,”
 καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐν μο-
 ναστηρίῳ ἐξομολο-
 γούμενοι τὰς πράξεις
 αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, καὶ
 γέγοναν μοναχοὶ τῇ
 χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

οὕτω γὰρ μοι ἡ πρό-
 νοια τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν
 ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐχειραγώ- ⁴⁵
 γησε.” καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπο-
 κριθέντες λέγουσιν
 αὐτῷ · “καὶ εἰ σὺ τοιοῦ-
 τος ὢν δυνατὸς καὶ
 περιβόητος, πάντα ⁵⁰
 καταλιμπάνων, μονα-
 χὸς γίνεαι, ἀληθῶς καὶ
 ἡμεῖς μοναχοὶ γινό-
 μεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν”.

καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως. καθὼς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστεύσαντο οἱ αὐτοὺς θεασάμενοι ὅτι ⁵⁵
 περ φησὶ μεγάλως ὑπῆρχον τῷ θεῷ εὐαρεστήσαντες ἐν πάσῃ ἀρετῇ 2 Pet 3’
 προσκόψαντες. καὶ ἔδοξάσαμεν τὸν θεόν τὸν μὴ βουλόμενόν τινα ἀπο-
 λέσθαι ποτὲ, ἀλλὰ πάντας εἰς μετάνοιαν ὀδηγοῦντα ὡς ἂν τῶν αἰωνίων
 ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσωσιν.

²⁵ οἶδε > εἶδεν A, Θεὸς εἶδεν ὅτι ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰμί K — ²⁶ τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ A, + ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς
 A — ²⁷ μηδέν K — ²⁸ + οὐδὲν γὰρ κακῶν ποιοῦσιν ὑμῖν A — ²⁹ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν A
 — ³⁰ ἀλλ’ αἱ P — ³¹ τὰ ῥήματα K, + παρ’ αὐτοῦ A — ³² τὸ σπάθην K — ³³ ἀπέπηξαν
 K — ³⁴ μετὰ φόβου K — ³⁵ + ἄλλοι K, λοιποὶ A — ³⁶ om. K, > ἐκεῖνος πρὸς αὐτούς
 A — ³⁷ (πάντα καὶ ὅτι) om. K — ³⁸ + φησὶ A — ³⁹ μοναχὸς γίνομαι K, + καὶ φοβοῦμαι
 τὸν Θεόν A

De latrone conversio, recensio TE (longior)

διηγῆσατό τις τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων ὅτι ἔστι μοναστήριον γυναικείον εἰς
 ἐν τῶν προαστείων ¹ Ἀντιοχείας ἔχον μοναστρίας τὸν ἀριθμὸν διακοσίας
 ἐξήκοντα · ἔστι δὲ περιτετειχισμένον κύκλωθεν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα ἐκεῖσε
 εἰσελθεῖν. ληστὰι οὖν τινες τὸν ἀριθμὸν δώδεκα μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιληστοῦ
 5 αὐτῶν ² ἐβουλεύσαντο εἰσελθεῖν καὶ συλῆσαι τὰ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ. ὁ δὲ
 τούτων ἀρχιληστής ἠρώτα καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν λέγων · “πῶς ὀφείλο-
 μεν εἰσελθεῖν, ὅτι ὄχυρὸν τεῖχος ἐστὶ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ;” ἕκαστος οὖν ἔλεγε
 τὴν βουλήν αὐτοῦ · ἐκάστῳ δὲ ἔλεγεν ὁ ἀρχιληστής · “ὄντως οὐ καλῶς
 εἴρηκας”. λέγουσιν ἐκεῖνοι τῷ ἀρχιληστῇ αὐτῶν · ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς εἶπομεν ³ καὶ
 10 οὐκ ἄρεστόν σοί ἐστιν · εἶπε ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν σοι”. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ·
 “λαμβάνω ἀπὸ μοναχοῦ ξένου καὶ ταπεινοῦ κουκούλλιον καὶ φορῶ αὐτὸ
 καὶ κρύβω εἰς αὐτὸ ⁴ τὰς τρίχας μου, καὶ δένω τὴν σπάθην μου εἰς τὸν
 μηρόν μου. καὶ φορῶ μαφόριον περιεσχισμένον καὶ ἀπέρχομαι ἐσπέρας
 καὶ κρούω εἰς τὴν θύραν τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ ὡς ξένον μοναχὸν καὶ
 15 πτωχὸν δέχονται με ἔσω, καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνοίγω ὑμῖν ⁵ καὶ εἰσέρχεσθε καὶ
 ποιῶμεν ὃ θέλωμεν”, ὃ δὴ καὶ πεποιήκε. καὶ φορέσας τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα,
 κρύψας τε τὰς τρίχας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κουκουλίῳ καὶ τὴν σπάθην δήσας
 ἐν τῷ μηρῷ αὐτοῦ ⁶, ἐσπέρας ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, εἶπε τῇ θυρωρῷ ·
 “ἐπειδὴ ξένος εἰμὶ καὶ μεῖναι εἰς χωρίον οὐχ ἀρμόζει με διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας
 20 ὅτι σκάνδαλά εἰσι, μεῖναι δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αἰσχύνομαι διὰ τοὺς
 πολίτας · ποιήσον ἀγάπην καὶ μισθὸν καὶ ἀνάγγελον ταῦτα τῇ ἡγουμένῃ,
 καὶ εἰσάγαγέ με μόνον ἔσωθεν τοῦ πυλῶνος τῇ ἐσπέρα, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον
 προσκυνῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀπέρχομαι”. ἡ δὲ θυρωρὸς ὡς παρὰ ἀγίου πατρὸς
 ἀκούσασα, χαίρουσα ἀνήγγειλε τῇ ἡγουμένῃ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα · ἡ δὲ ἀμμᾶς
 25 ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ κελεύει κρουσθῆναι τὸ ξύλον ὅπως συνα-
 χθῶσιν αἱ ἀδελφαί. καὶ δὴ συναγαγοῦσα πάσας ἦλθεν μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς
 τὸν ἀρχιληστήν, μοναχὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον, εὐλογηθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ
 ἐκέλευσεν γενέσθαι νιπτῆρα καὶ κελεύει τὰς μοναστρίας στήναι δύο χορούς,
 καὶ ἐκάστη αὐτῶν παρερχομένη ἔνιπτεν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλογεῖτο
 30 παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἦν οὖν μία ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπηρέτρια μιᾶς ἀδελφῆς παραλυτικῆς
 ἀνακειμένης ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ · καὶ λαβοῦσα ἡ ὑπηρέτρια ἐκ τοῦ ἀπονίμματος
 τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ὕδωρ, ἀνῆλθε λέγουσα τῇ ἀσθενούσῃ · “μέγας ἅγιος
 ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ἡμῶν καὶ ἐνίψαμεν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι,

tit. om. E — ¹ ἐν προάστειον E — ² αὐτοῦ E — ³ εἶπαμεν TE — ⁴ αὐτῷ T — ⁵ ὑμᾶς
 T — ⁶ αὐτῷ E —

καὶ εὐλογήθημεν ἐκ τοῦ νίμματος τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ. ἤνεγκα οὖν καὶ σοὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὅπως εὐλογηθῆς” · καὶ ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἡ παραλυτικὴ, ἐνίψατο 35 τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἤλειψεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ πίστει ἰάθη παραχρῆμα. τοῦτο δὲ γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ γεγγραμμένον ὅτι “ὁ δεχόμενος προφήτην εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου μισθὸν προφήτου λήψεται ⁷”. ἀπιούσης δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς κατελθεῖν, λέγει αὐτῇ ἡ ἀσθενοῦσα · “μεῖνον, ἀδελφή, ἵνα Mt 10⁴¹ κατέλθω μετὰ σοῦ καὶ εὐλογηθῶ κάγω παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου πατρός · 40 ἰδοὺ γὰρ διὰ τῶν ἀγίων εὐχῶν αὐτοῦ, ὁ θεὸς ἰάσατό με”, καὶ ἀναστᾶσα συγκατῆλθε αὐτῇ. ἐλθούσης δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, θεωρήσασαι πάσαι αἱ ἀδελφαί, ἐξέστησαν ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ θαύματι. καὶ πειθόμεναι ⁸ παρ’ αὐτῆς τὴν αἰτίαν, ἔλεγεν ὅτι “ἅμα τοῦ νίψασθαί με τοῦ νίμματος τοῦ ἀγίου τούτου πατρός, ἔφυγεν ἡ νόσος ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ”. πᾶσαι οὖν ἰδοῦσαι τὸ παράδοξον 45 τοῦτο θαῦμα, ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ περιεπτύσσοντο τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ ἀνδρός, αἰτοῦσαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ πλείονα εὐχὴν γενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ταῦτα ὁ ἀνὴρ, καταπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ γεγονός θαῦμα καὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστει · καὶ λοιπὸν θαμβηθεὶς ἤρξατο κράζειν καὶ λέγειν · “μὴ ἄπτεσθέ μου, ἀμμάδες · ὡς γὰρ ἐπίσταται ὁ θεὸς ὅτι πάνυ ἁμαρτωλός 50 εἶμι καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀνάξιος · ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐγὼ αἰτοῦμαι πασῶν ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐκτενῆ πρὸς Κύριον ποιήσασθαι δέησιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἵνα ἐπιστρέψας με σῶση τῇ αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπία”. ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος πρὸς αὐτάς καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τοῦ μὴ κόπους παρέχειν ἑαυταῖς ⁹, ἐκεῖναι (νομίζουσαι ὅτι ἐκ ταπεινοφροσύνης ταῦτα λέγει) ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὄχλοῦν αὐτὸν τοῦ εὐλογηθῆναι 55 ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ¹⁰. ἰδὼν οὖν ὅτι οὐ πείθονται τοῦ ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἠσυχάσαι, κατανυγεὶς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀφεῖλεν τὸ κουκούλλιον ὃ ἐφόρει καὶ ὑπέδειξεν αὐταῖς τὴν κόμην τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ · λύσας δὲ καὶ τὴν σπάθην ἐκ τοῦ μηροῦ αὐτοῦ, ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐπὶ πασῶν λέγων · “κἂν νῦν πιστεύετε μοι ὅτι ἁμαρτωλός εἶμι καὶ κύριος πολλῶν κακῶν · τοῦ λοιποῦ μηκέτι κόπους 60 ἑαυταῖς παρέχετε βιαζόμεναί με, ἀλλ’ εὐχαριστῆτε τῷ ἀγαθῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ θεῷ, ἐπειδὴ αἱ εὐχαὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ εἰλικρινὴς ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ παράδοξον τοῦτο θαῦμα πεποιήκασιν ¹¹ εἰς ταύτην τὴν παράλυτον. ἔσεσθε δὲ γινώσκουσαι ὅτι ἀρχιληστής εἶμι καὶ δόλω εἰσῆλθον πρὸς ὑμᾶς · εἴσιν δὲ μοι καὶ ἄλλοι δώδεκα λησταὶ οἵτινες ἔρχονται τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ 65 πρὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ μοναστηρίου κατὰ τὴν σύνταξίν μου · ἀλλὰ μηδὲν φοβήθητε · εὐξασθε δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἵνα προσδέξεταιί με ὁ θεὸς μετανοοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς οἷς ἔπραξα”. αἱ δὲ τίμαι ἐκεῖναι παρθένοι ταῦτα ἀκούσασαι,

⁷ λήμψεται secundum scripturas — ⁸ ποιθόμενοι T, E vix legibilis — ⁹ αὐταῖς E — ¹⁰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ E — ¹¹ πεποιήκεν TE —

ἰδοῦσαι καὶ τὸ ξίφος, κατέπτηξαν φόβῳ καὶ ἔστησαν ἅπασαι εἰς τὸν κανόνα
 70 ψάλλουσαι ἀπὸ ὄψε̄ ἕως πρωῖ. καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἦλθον οἱ ἰβ' λησταὶ καὶ
 ἐξελθὼν ὁ ἀρχιληστής διηγήσατο αὐτοῖς τὸ γεγονὸς ¹² θαῦμα, εἰπὼν ὅτι
 “ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν φοβοῦμαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ οὐ μὴ παρέλθω διὰ κακοῦ, ἀλλ'
 ἐὰν θέλῃ ¹³ ὁ θεός, μοναχὸς θέλω γενέσθαι. τὸ λοιπὸν ὑπάγετε μετ' εἰρήνης·
 ἐμὲ γὰρ οὐκέτι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔχετε”. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ λησταὶ καὶ πάνυ
 75 κατανυγέντες, εἶπον αὐτῶ· “εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει καὶ βούλει σὺ σωθῆναι,
 πρῶτος ὢν ἡμῶν καὶ δυνατώτερος, καὶ ἡμεῖς σὺν σοῖ βουλόμεθα σωθῆναι
 καὶ γενέσθαι μοναχοί”. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ συμφωνή-
 σαντες, ἀναστάντες ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν μοναστηρίῳ καὶ ἀποταξάμενοι γεγόνασι
 μοναχοὶ πάντες. ὁ δὲ διηγησάμενος πατήρ ταῦτα μεθ' ὄρκου ἔφη δι' ἑαυτοῦ
 80 παραγενέσθαι καὶ μεμαθηκένει παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μονῇ ὑπαρχόντων
 μοναχῶν οὕτως ἔχειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ὅτι ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ λησταὶ γενόμε-
 νοι μοναχοὶ εἰσῆλθον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κοινοβίῳ, καὶ ὅτι τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν
 ἠξιώθησαν καὶ χαρισμάτων παρὰ Χριστοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ συνεγράφησαν πρὸς
 ὠφέλειαν καὶ οἰκοδομίην ¹⁴ τῶν ἀκουόντων καὶ θελόντων εὐαρεστῆσαι
 85 Χριστῶ τῷ ἀληθινῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ ποιῶντι προφάσεις εἰς σωτηρίαν,
 πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα ἀκούοντας καὶ μιμουμένους σώζεσθαι διὰ τῶν
 προφάσεων τῶν κατὰ πολλοὺς τροποῦς γινομένων.

¹² γεγονοδς sic) E — ¹³ εια θέλει E — ¹⁴ οἰκοδομίαν T

TRANSLATION

BHG 1450kb, longer recension (TE)

The Converted Robber

One of the holy fathers said that there is a ladies' monastery in one of the suburbs of Antioch with two hundred and sixty sisters in it. It is encircled by a wall so that no-one can enter. A band of twelve robbers held a meeting together with their chief to see how they could get in and despoil what was inside. The chief asked each one of them : “How can we get in, for the monastery wall is very strong ?” And to each man as he replied, the chief said : “You have not spoken well”. They said to their chief : “Look, we have spoken and you did not like what we said ; so tell us what seems to be a good idea to you”. He said : “I take the cowl of a lowly monk from distant parts and

put it on, hiding my hair in it. I attach my sword to my thigh and wear a tattered monastic broad-stole [*maphorion*]. In the evening I go and knock at the monastery door and they receive me as a poor monk from foreign parts. In the night, I open [the gate] for you ; you enter, and we do what we will". And that is just what he did. He put on a monk's habit, hid his hair in a cowl and attached his sword to his thigh. He came to the monastery in the evening and said to the portress : "I am a stranger and it would not be proper for me to stay in the village because the women would be an occasion of sin for me. And I am ashamed to stay in the city again because of the citizens. Therefore, of your charity and for a reward tell this to the superior : just let me inside the doorway this evening ; tomorrow I will greet you and go my way". The portress joyfully reported all this to the superior as though she had it from the lips of a holy father. The mother [superior] gave orders for him to enter and also for the wood [-en signal] to be sounded to gather all the sisters together. When she had gathered them all together, they and she approached the arch-robber who was thought to be a monk, hoping to be blessed by him. She ordered a washing-bowl to be brought ; she had the nuns stand in two choirs, and each one of them came by, washed his feet and was blessed by him.

Now one of those nuns was the attendant of a sister who lay paralysed on the upper floor. She took some of the water with which his feet had been washed and went up, saying to the sick sister : "A great holy man has come to our monastery ; we all of us washed his feet and received a blessing from the water in which they were washed. I have brought you some of it so that you too can receive a blessing". On hearing this the paralysed sister washed her face and anointed her body with the water and, by faith, she was cured immediately. This came about that scripture might be fulfilled : "He who receives a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive the reward of a prophet" [Mt. 10 : 41.] As the attendant-sister was leaving to make her way downstairs, the sick one said to her : "Wait, sister, I will come down with you and I too will receive a blessing from this holy father, for behold ! God has healed me through his holy prayers". She got up and went downstairs with the other sister. As she approached the man, all the sisters saw and were astonished at the extraordinary miracle. When they asked her how it had come about, she said : "As soon as I washed myself with the water which had washed this holy father,

the illness fled from me". All the sisters, seeing the extraordinary miracle, glorified God and pressed about the man's feet more insistently, asking for more prayers to be offered by him.

When the man heard these things, he was amazed, both at the miracle that had taken place and also that they should have such faith in him. In his astonishment he began shouting and saying : "Keep your hands off me, mothers, for, as God well knows, I am a very sinful man, unworthy to remain alive. It is *I* who beg *you* to make fervent intercession to the Lord on *my* behalf, praying him to reform me and of his love for mankind to save me". When he had said this to them, begging them to desist from their efforts, they thought that it was out of humility that he had spoken like this ; so they redoubled their requests to be blessed by him. Realising that they were not in any mood either to accept what he said nor yet to be silenced, in his confusion the man threw back the cowl he was wearing and showed them the hair of his head. And loosening the sword from his thigh he cast it on the ground in the sight of them all saying : "*Now* will you believe me, that I am a sinner and the author of many evils ? Desist now from your efforts to obtain favours of me. Rather, give thanks to God the good, the lover of men, that your prayers and sincere faith in Him have brought about this extraordinary miracle in the case of the paralysed sister. I would have you know that I am a robber chief and it was by a ruse that I got in here. I have another twelve robbers who are coming to the monastery door tonight at my orders. But have no fear ; pray rather that God will receive me as I repent of the evil deeds I have committed". When those worthy virgins heard this and saw the sword, they were stricken with terror and all stood to the [divine] office, singing psalms from dusk to dawn.

The twelve robbers came by night. Their chief went out and told them about the miracle that had taken place. He said : "From henceforth I fear God and I will have nothing more to do with wrongdoing. If it be the will of God, I would like to become a monk. So then, go away peacefully ; you will no longer have me with you". When the robbers heard this they were stricken with awe. They said to him : "If that is how things are ; if you, our chief, who are stronger than us all, wish to be saved, then we too want to be saved with you and to become monks". This is what they said among themselves ; and being of one accord, they rose up and went to a monastery where, having renounced the world, they all became monks.

The father who told [this story] swore that he had himself been there and had learned from the monks who were living at the monastery that this is a true story ; also that the robbers became monks with one accord and entered the same convent. Some of them became worthy of special gifts [*χαρίσματα*] from Christ. These things were written for the benefit and edification of those who hear and who wish to be well-pleasing to Christ our true God, who makes dispensations [to permit our] salvation. [They were also written] so that by hearing [them] and imitating [the virtues they illustrate] we might be saved, through the dispensations which come about in many ways.

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John WORTLEY.

MÉMOIRES

L'ASTRONOMIE BYZANTINE À L'AUBE DE LA RENAISSANCE (DE 1352 À LA FIN DU XV^e SIÈCLE)

Les documents astronomiques écrits en grec durant la seconde moitié du XIV^e s. et au XV^e s. sont très nombreux, mais encore mal connus. À côté de traités rédigés en bonne et due forme, il y a de nombreux manuscrits de travail, des carnets de notes d'astronomes, d'astrologues ou d'amateurs, qui donnent des calculs, des tables parfois complètes, souvent simplement amorcées, des notes critiques ou des scolies, des listes d'éclipses à venir, des éphémérides, des allusions à des tables perdues ... Tout cela montre que l'activité astronomique a été intense dans le monde byzantin, mais constitue un dossier très difficile à analyser et à apprécier.

L'étude qui va suivre ne prétend nullement à l'exhaustivité. Elle se base sur une série de documents de différentes sortes : manuels d'astronomie, tables, éphémérides, calculs isolés, listes de syzygies ou d'éclipse, etc. En voici la liste, par ordre chronologique :

A. Auteurs connus :

1. Théodore Méliténite : *Tribiblos astronomique* (ca 1352)
2. Isaac Argyre : Traités sur les *Tables Nouvelles* (ca 1368)
3. Demetrius Chrysoloras : Traité sur les *Tables Latines* (ca 1380)
4. Isidore Glabas : liste de syzygies de 1390-1409
5. Eleutherios Elios : Méthodes recueillies par son élève Dionysios (ca 1391)
6. Jean Chortasmenos (ca 1404-1414) : nombreux exercices astronomiques
7. Georges Gémiste Pléthon (ca 1433) : *Traité astronomique*
8. Michel Chrysococcès : *Hexaptéryge* (ca 1434/5)
9. Matthieu Paléologue : tables inspirées des tables perses (ca 1436)
10. Marc Eugenicos : Méthodes sur les *Tables Cycliques* (ca 1448)

11. Andronic Doucas Sgouros : tables corrigées (ca 1440)
12. Isidore de Russie : divers calculs et notes (ca 1454)
13. Bessarion : notes astronomiques diverses (ca 1450)
14. Georges de Trébizonde : *Introduction à l'Almageste* (ca 1466)
15. Matthieu Camariôtès : le *Sentier Aplani* (avant 1490)

B. Textes et documents anonymes :

1. *Paradosis* sur les tables perses (ca 1352)
2. Mode d'emploi anonyme sur les tables perses, *Vat. gr.* 210
3. Scolies anonymes, *Vat. gr.* 1059 (ca 1357)
4. Résumé des *Tables Nouvelles* d'Isaac Argyre (ca 1376)
5. Essais de tables de planètes pour 1376, *Vat. gr.* 208
6. Listes d'éclipses de 1376 à 1408
7. Chapitres anonymes d'astronomie perse, ca 1379-1382
8. Chapitres anonymes du *Laur.* 28/14 (attribués par D. Pingree à Jean Abramios)
9. Catalogue d'étoiles corrigé pour 1389 (attribués par D. Pingree à Jean Abramios)
10. Chapitres anonymes sur les tables perses, Rhodes, ca 1393
11. Traité et tables astronomiques «proto-Pléthon», ca 1414 (?)
12. Ephémérides pour 1454 ss
13. Texte anonyme sur les *Tables Cycliques* de David Bonjorn (milieu xv^e siècle?)
14. Texte anonyme sur l'*Hexaptéryge* (milieu xv^e s.?)
15. Texte anonyme sur l'*Hexaptéryge* (Crète, 1467-1468)
16. Almanach pour l'année 1481

Ces documents seront présentés avec plus de détails dans la deuxième partie de cette étude. Ils sont presque tous inédits et beaucoup d'entre eux mériteraient une édition critique. En attendant, les conclusions qui sont développées ici ne peuvent être que provisoires. Les limites chronologiques vont de 1352, l'année probable de la rédaction de la *Tribiblos* de Méliénote, et dépassent quelque peu la période strictement byzantine : la culture byzantine ne s'est pas arrêtée d'un seul coup en 1453 et il était intéressant de considérer également des documents postérieurs à cette date.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE : SURVOL HISTORIQUE

§ 1. *La critique de Ptolémée et la comparaison avec les tables perses*

La longue survie de l'astronomie de Ptolémée jusqu'aux xiv^e et xv^e siècles est une caractéristique de l'astronomie byzantine. Dès le début du xiv^e s., cependant, des voix se font entendre pour souligner que cette astronomie n'est

plus tout à fait à jour. Nicéphore Grégoras lui-même, l'un de ses plus ardents promoteurs, semble suggérer vers 1332 que l'astronomie de Ptolémée a été rendue caduque par le temps et qu'il faudrait la corriger (1). Lui-même se limitera à une timide correction de la longueur de l'année : $365j \frac{1}{4} - \frac{1}{280}$ au lieu de $365j \frac{1}{4} - \frac{1}{300}$ selon Ptolémée (2).

Dès la fin du $xiii^e$ s., l'astronomie perse commence à se répandre à Byzance, mais ce n'est qu'après 1347, avec la *Syntaxe Perse* de Georges Chrysococcès, qu'elle s'imposera véritablement. Les tables perses expliquées par Chrysococcès sont essentiellement une adaptation du *Zîj-i Ilkhânî* de Naşîr ad Dîn aţ-Ţûsî (ca 1272) et sont évidemment beaucoup mieux adaptées au xiv^e s. que les tables de Ptolémée. Toutefois, l'usage de ces tables chez les Byzantins était entaché de nombreuses erreurs, notamment dans le calcul des syzygies.

Ainsi, le temps qui sépare la syzygie vraie de la syzygie moyenne, doit être calculé dans les tables perses, selon la formule suivante :

$$t = \Delta\lambda / \Delta v$$

t = temps cherché ; $\Delta\lambda$ = différence entre les longitudes vraies du Soleil et de la Lune ; Δv = différence des vitesses lunaire et solaire, tandis que chez Ptolémée, la formule est :

$$t = 13/12 \Delta\lambda / v_{\text{L}},$$

v_{L} étant la vitesse lunaire seule.

Or, à la suite de Chrysococcès, les Byzantins utilisent une formule inexacte, qui résulte du mélange indû des deux formules, soit

$$t = 13/12 \Delta\lambda / \Delta v \text{ (3)}.$$

Cette erreur peut produire une différence d'une demi-heure dans l'estimation du temps, et si l'on ajoute encore d'autres erreurs dans l'emploi des tables perses, il arrivait que, pour les éclipses, les anciennes tables de Ptolémée donnent de meilleurs résultats, on en verra des exemples plus loin.

Vers 1352, Théodore Méliténiole écrit son énorme *Tribiblos Astronomique* (A1). L'ouvrage est conçu comme ceci : le livre I contient une introduction arithmétique et un traité complet sur l'astrolabe plan ; le livre II est consacré aux calculs selon Ptolémée, *Almageste* et *Tables Faciles*, avec des exemples pris le 25 décembre 1352 ; le livre III est un «remake» de la *Syntaxe Perse* de Chrysococcès (ca 1347) avec le même jeu de tables astronomiques (4). À

(1) *CAB*, 1, pp. 21-22.

(2) BEZDEKI, *Epistolae*, p. 333, 2 (voir LEMOINE, p. 64).

(3) Voir TIHON, *Traité astronomique chypriote*, p. 56.

(4) Comparaison dans LEURQUIN, *Tribiblos*, p. 275.

la fin du livre II, Méliténiole lui aussi se livre au constat que les tables de Ptolémée sont périmées et qu'il faudrait les remettre à jour, tâche qu'il se propose de faire dans un autre ouvrage ⁽⁵⁾. Mais cet ouvrage ne semble jamais avoir vu le jour : au lieu de cela, il consacre son livre III à l'astronomie perse. La comparaison est implicite, mais jamais il n'y a de critique de Ptolémée, ni même de confrontation directe des résultats obtenus selon l'une et l'autre méthode. Cependant, en choisissant les mêmes exemples de part et d'autre, Méliténiole donnait à ses lecteurs un outil de comparaison très complet entre les deux types de tables.

En voici quelques exemples ⁽⁶⁾ :

Alm. = *Almageste*

T.F. = *Tables Faciles*

T.P. = *Tables Perses*

25 décembre 1352 = 8 Pharouarté 722 Y, Constantinople :

— longitude du Soleil :

4h $\frac{1}{4}$ p. m. (heures saisonnières) : Capricorne 7 ; 13° (Alm. = T.F.)

3h $\frac{1}{6}$ (temps corrigé) : Capricorne 7 ; 11° (Alm.)

Capricorne 7 ; 12° (T.F.)

3 h équinoxiales p. m. : Capricorne 12 ; 37, 53° (T.P.)

TUCKERMAN ⁽⁷⁾ : 282.69

— longitude de la Lune

3h $\frac{1}{6}$ p. m. : Lion 23 ; 12° (Alm.)

Lion 23 ; 13° (T.F.)

3h p. m. : Lion 29 ; 37, 15° (T.P.)

TUCKERMAN : 152.3

— longitude de Saturne

3h $\frac{1}{6}$: Taureau 11 ; 43° (Alm.)

Taureau 11 ; 43, 46° (T.F.)

3h p. m. : Taureau 17 ; 44, 22° (T.P.)

TUCKERMAN : 46.81

— longitude de Jupiter

3h $\frac{1}{6}$: Balance 15 ; 27° (Alm.)

Balance 15 ; 26, 46° (T.F.)

(5) LEURQUIN, *CAB*, V, pp. 598-599.

(6) Les résultats selon les tables perses sont donnés d'après l'édition provisoire de M^{lle} Leurquin.

(7) Lorsque la position n'est pas donnée directement pour le 25 décembre, je donne le résultat d'une simple interpolation linéaire, une plus grande précision n'étant pas nécessaire ici.

3h p. m. Balance 19 ; 58° (T.P.)

TUCKERMAN : 199.48

— longitude de Mars

3h ¹/₆ : Verseau 22 ; 48° (Alm.)

Verseau 22 ; 48, 46° (T.F.)

3h p. m. Verseau 25 ; 28, 56° (T.P.)

TUCKERMAN : 327.97

— longitude de Vénus

3h ¹/₆ : Capricorne 8 ; 42° (Alm.)

Capricorne 8 ; 42, 46° (T.F.)

3h p. m. : Capricorne 17 ; 13, 37° (T.P.)

TUCKERMAN : 287.44

— longitude de Mercure

3h ¹/₆ : Sagittaire 16 ; 47° (Alm.)

Sagittaire 16 ; 47, 46° (T.F.)

3h p. m. Sagittaire 17 ; 54, 37° (T.P.)

TUCKERMAN : 259.85

La *Tribiblos* entière n'eut pas beaucoup de succès, à en juger par sa tradition manuscrite réduite (8). Mais le livre III de la *Tribiblos* semble avoir connu une survie indépendante sous le titre de *Παράδοσις τῶν Περσικῶν κανόνων* (B1). Sous ce titre, en effet, on trouve des versions plus ou moins retravaillées ou modernisées du livre III. De même, les traités B2, B7, B10 sont des explications des tables perses inspirées de la *Syntaxe* de Chrysococcès, mais remaniées superficiellement ou modernisées. Il y a dans les manuscrits beaucoup d'autres notes sur les tables perses, qu'il n'était pas possible d'inventorier ici.

Peu de temps après Méliténiole, des critiques, parfois virulentes se font jour vis-à-vis de l'astronomie de Ptolémée. Déjà dans un des manuscrits de la *Tribiblos*, le *Vat. gr.* 1059, on a trace de critiques adressées à l'auteur pour des calculs selon Ptolémée, sans que l'on puisse situer l'origine ou la date (9) de ces remarques. Mais d'autres critiques plus précises contre les tables de Ptolémée apparaissent, dans un ensemble de chapitres anonymes conservés notamment dans le *Laur.* 28/14 (B8), que D. Pingree attribue à Jean Abramios (10). Les tables de Ptolémée, dit-il, ne sont plus fiables — l'auteur précise en quoi elles se trompent — et il faut les corriger. Pour cela, il propose des méthodes qui ne sont pas très faciles à interpréter, le texte étant peu clair. Il s'agira de réajuster par observation les origines des tables et pour le reste,

(8) LEURQUIN, *CAB*, IV, pp. 30ss.

(9) LEURQUIN, *CAB*, IV, p. 59.

(10) PINGREE, *The Astrological School*, p. 197 et *passim*.

on reprendra les paramètres soit des tables de Ptolémée, soit des tables perses. L'ensemble est assez confus et il ne semble pas que cela se soit traduit par un nouveau jeu de tables, du moins à en juger par les documents conservés. On a les traces d'essais pour bâtir de nouvelles tables pour l'année 1376 (B5), mais ce ne sont que des tâtonnements qui ne semblent pas avoir abouti, comme on le verra ci-dessous (§ 2).

Le travail principal des astronomes et astrologues de la fin du XIV^e s. semble avoir été de décider lesquelles des tables de Ptolémée ou des tables perses étaient les meilleures. Cette comparaison incessante, on la trouve notamment dans des prédictions d'éclipses (B6). Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, l'usage que faisaient les Byzantins des tables perses étaient entaché d'erreurs et, dans les calculs d'éclipses, il arrivait que les prédictions obtenues par Ptolémée soient meilleures que celles calculées avec les tables perses.

En voici comme exemple la comparaison des résultats obtenus par Méliéniote pour l'éclipse du 7 août 1347, par les tables de Ptolémée et par les tables perses :

Phases	Ptolémée *	Perses **	Modernes (Tavardon) (11)
Commencement	2 h 46 m av. midi (= 9 h 14)	5 h 53 (= 11 h 53)	9 h 15
Milieu	2 h 14 m av. midi (= 9 h 46)	6 h 22 (= 12 h 22)	9 h 43
Fin	1 h 41 m av. midi (= 10 h 19)	6 h 51 (= 12 h 51)	10 h 18
Grandeur			
— diamètre	1 ; 3, 12 d	2 d ¹ / ₃	—
— surface	0 ; 22 d carrés	1 d ¹ / ₅	0,1

* heures équinoxiales avant midi

** heures équinoxiales depuis le lever du Soleil.

Dans ce cas-ci, il y a entre Ptolémée et le calcul moderne une coïncidence remarquable, bien meilleure que pour les résultats obtenus par les tables perses.

Un autre exemple qui montre l'excellence des tables de Ptolémée pour les éclipses est le calcul de l'éclipse de Soleil du 15 avril 1409, trouvé dans le *Vat. gr.* 1058, ff. 251-253. Ce même calcul figure deux fois sous la plume de Jean Chortasmenos (voir A6) : dans le *Vat. gr.* 1059, ff. 98-100v, et dans l'*Urbinas gr.* 80, ff. 105v-106. On peut donc penser qu'il en est l'auteur. Celui-

(11) J'ai utilisé les tables d'éclipses de Soleil pour Constantinople établies par P. TAVARDON, sous la supervision de R. BOUIGUE, ancien directeur de l'observatoire de Toulouse. Ces tables fort utiles sont malheureusement encore inédites.

ci calcule l'éclipse d'après les tables d'Isaac Argyre (A2, II), qui reprennent inchangés les paramètres et les méthodes de Ptolémée, mais utilise pour les parallaxes la table perse simplifiée (12). Les résultats sont remarquables :

Texte	Calcul moderne (Tavardon)
début (10 h 26 *) = 16 h 26	16 h 17
milieu (11 h 28 *) = 17 h 28	17 h 27
fin (12 h 1/2 *) = 18 h 30	18 h 31
durée : 2 h 1/15 (= 2 h 4 m)	2 h 13

* heures équinoxiales depuis le lever du Soleil.

Cependant les résultats n'étaient pas toujours aussi bons. Par exemple, pour l'éclipse du 16 mai 1379 (13), les tables perses donnent le commencement de l'éclipse à 13h 4m depuis le lever du Soleil (= 19h 4m) ; les tables grecques «à partir de 12h» depuis le lever du Soleil (= 18h) ; les tables modernes (Tavardon) donnent 18h 50 (B6). Dans d'autres cas, la discordance est complète (14).

Cette incertitude explique la nécessité que sentaient certains astronomes d'utiliser les deux méthodes. Si les Byzantins ont continué malgré tout à se servir de Ptolémée à la fin du XIV^e s. et au XV^e s., ce n'est pas seulement par conservatisme, comme on le répète trop facilement, mais aussi pour des raisons d'efficacité, au moins en ce qui concerne les éclipses.

On notera, enfin, que ce travail de comparaison entre Ptolémée et les tables perses supposait le recours à l'observation : il fallait nécessairement se référer à celle-ci pour trancher entre les deux. Mais malheureusement l'observation n'est jamais explicitement mentionnée, sauf dans des formules stéréotypées imitées du *Petit Commentaire* de Théon (15). Aucun astronome byzantin, enfin, ne semble avoir remis en cause les méthodes inexactes expliquées par Chrysococès pour le calcul des syzygies selon les tables perses.

En ce qui concerne les longitudes du Soleil, de la Lune et des planètes, les textes byzantins soulignent souvent la différence de 5° à 6° qui séparent les résultats obtenus selon les deux méthodes, et parfois, essaient de les accorder.

En voici un essai, assez naïf et isolé, daté de 1357 qui figure dans des scolies anonymes du *Vat. gr.* 1059, copié cette fois encore par Jean Chortasmenos (B3). L'auteur, non identifié, avait remarqué qu'il y avait une erreur d'environ

(12) Sur cette table, voir TIHON, *Traité astronomique chypriote*, II, pp. 66-67.

(13) TIHON, *Calculs d'éclipses*, p. 358.

(14) TIHON, *Calculs d'éclipses*, p. 358 (*Ox. Can.* 81).

(15) THÉON, *P.C.*, p. 236-237 (trad. p. 319).

5° dans les longitudes obtenues à l'aide des tables de Ptolémée, et que les tables perses donnaient de meilleurs résultats. Il tente de concilier les deux en appliquant aux résultats obtenus par les tables de Ptolémée la théorie de Théon sur la trépidation des équinoxes. Coïncidence, la correction donne effectivement environ 5° pour cette époque, degrés qu'il lui suffira d'ajouter pour obtenir l'équivalence avec les tables perses et les observations. Ceci est le seul exemple byzantin, à ma connaissance, où l'on ait essayé d'appliquer la théorie de la trépidation des équinoxes expliquée par Théon (16). Mais cette tentative assez fruste ne pouvait donner des résultats valables. Elle est intéressante cependant par le désir qui y transparaît de «sauver» les tables grecques par un procédé grec, et de réconcilier ainsi Ptolémée avec l'astronomie perse. Dans certains calculs comparés les résultats finaux de Ptolémée sont simplement augmentés arbitrairement pour les faire correspondre aux tables perses (17)!

§ 2. *Création de nouvelles tables ; tentatives pour corriger Ptolémée*

Les tables de Ptolémée étant périmées, les tables perses, pas toujours satisfaisantes, les unes comme les autres étant inadaptées au calendrier byzantin, il fallait donc essayer de créer de nouvelles tables mieux adaptées au monde byzantin.

Les essais qu'on trouve à la fin du xiv^e siècle et durant le xv^e siècle sont de plusieurs sortes, et en général, assez décevants.

Dans ses deux traités sur les *Tables Nouvelles*, Isaac Argyre transpose les tables de syzygies de l'*Almageste* et les *Tables Faciles* pour le Soleil et la Lune en calendrier julien, pour le méridien de Constantinople, et au départ de l'année 1367/8 (A2). Isaac Argyre ne changeait rien aux paramètres de Ptolémée : ailleurs, cependant, il avait proposé une nouvelle valeur pour la longueur de l'année tropique : $365j \frac{1}{4} - \frac{1}{200}$ (18). S'il n'y a dans les *Tables Nouvelles* aucune révolution scientifique, c'était cependant une œuvre utile : elle dispensait de remonter à l'ère de Nabonassar ou de Philippe et évitait des conversions de calendrier hasardeuses. Ces tables ont eu un certain succès : B4 et B8 y recourent, ainsi que Chortasmenos (A6). Isaac Argyre avait-il aussi adapté des tables de planètes? Un passage du traité (A2, II) semble l'affirmer, mais ces tables ne nous sont pas parvenues, ou ne sont pas identifiées.

On trouve d'autres tentatives pour ajuster les *Tables Faciles* dans le *Vat. gr.* 208 (B5). Ce manuscrit contient, en effet, des amorces de tables où l'on semble avoir voulu établir des paramètres au 1^{er} mars 1376, d'après les *Tables*

(16) Elle est appliquée dans le calcul de certaines éphémérides du iv^e s. : voir NEUGEBAUER, *HAMA*, II, pp. 1056-1057.

(17) Voir par exemple *Paris. gr.* 2491, ff. 155v-160.

(18) MIGNE, *PG*, 19, col. 1312 (voir ci-dessous, deuxième partie, A2)

Faciles, mais en y apportant peut-être une correction pour la précession. Ces essais peu clairs ne semblent pas avoir abouti.

L'auteur de B8, que D. Pingree identifie avec Jean Abramios, semble avoir établi, lui aussi, des tables au départ du 1^{er} mars 1376, mais cette fois basées sur les tables perses. La comparaison entre les paramètres qu'il donne pour le Soleil, la Lune et les cinq planètes et les résultats obtenus par les tables de Chrysococcès le 1^{er} mars à midi, pour Constantinople (long. 56°) ⁽¹⁹⁾ montre qu'il s'est effectivement basé sur ces tables, sans y apporter de changements. Mais il ne s'agit que d'une liste de paramètres, et les tables mêmes, si elles ont existé, ne nous sont pas parvenues.

Des tables d'origine inconnue, sans aucune mention de source, ont été recopiées vers 1414 par Jean Chortasmenos dans l'*Urbinas gr.* 80 (B11). Elles sont visiblement bâties sur le même modèle que celles de Pléthon, qu'elles précèdent d'une vingtaine d'années. Mais les paramètres sont différents : selon l'analyse de R. Mercier, ces tables «proto-Pléthon» utilisent les paramètres de la *Syntaxe Perse*, à savoir ceux du *Zîj-i Ilkhânî*. Ceux de Pléthon ne sont pas encore identifiés. Nous reviendrons plus loin sur les tables de Pléthon (§ 5).

Au xv^e s., on trouve encore une autre adaptation des tables perses par un certain Matthieu Paléologue (A9) : ces tables sont établies en calendrier julien, pour une longitude de 57°, au départ du 1^{er} mars 1436. Elles ne sont conservées que fragmentairement.

Enfin, des tables de parallaxes sont dits «corrigées» vers 1440 par Andronic Doucas Sgouros (A11). Il s'agit de courts fragments où des tables de parallaxes dérivées des *Tables Faciles* semblent avoir été établies par interpolation entre le 5^e et 6^e climat. Ce même personnage aurait aussi fait quelques adaptations dans les tables perses, mais les fragments sont trop brefs pour être vraiment significatifs.

§ 3. *Adaptation des Tables Alphonsines et de traités juifs*

Corriger Ptolémée ou établir de nouvelles tables s'avérant une tâche difficile et décevante, une solution plus simple était de recourir à des tables étrangères, en se bornant à en expliquer le mode d'emploi pour un lecteur byzantin, et les conversions de calendrier nécessaires. Ainsi, les *Tables Alphonsines* sont adaptées pour Constantinople par Démétrius Chrysoloras vers 1380 (A3). Ont-elles connu une réelle diffusion? Je n'ai pas trouvé trace qu'elles aient été effectivement utilisées en dehors de ce traité. Un siècle plus tard, en 1481, on

(19) Comme Chrysococcès, l'auteur utilise une longitude inexacte pour Constantinople (56°) : voir TIHON, *Traité astronomique chypriote*, I, pp. 296-297.

trouve un «almanach» imité de celui d'Azarquiel (XI^e s.), le seul exemple de ce genre que j'aie trouvé en grec (B16).

Au XV^e s., ce sont surtout les traités juifs qui sont importés et utilisés. Sont adaptées en grec à cette époque :

(a) *L'Hexaptéryge* ou les «Six Ailes» d'Immanuel Bonfils de Tarascon (ca 1365) traduit et adapté par Michel Chrysococcès vers 1434 (A8). Texte et tables sont conservés dans plusieurs manuscrits. Ces tables ont fait également l'objet de deux commentaires anonymes (B14 et 15).

(b) Les *Tables cycliques* ou «cycles» de Jacob ben David Yom Tob (Bonjorn) (ca 1361) adaptées par Marc Eugenicos vers 1448 (A10). Elles ont fait également l'objet d'un commentaire anonyme (B13).

(c) Le *Sentier aplani (Orah Selulah)* d'Isaac ben Salomon ben Zaddik Alhadib (ca 1391), adapté par Matthieu Camariotès (avant 1490) (A15).

Pléthon dut une partie de sa formation, nous dit-on, à un maître juif, Élisée, personnage énigmatique, qu'il aurait rencontré à la cour ottomane, qui se trouvait à cette époque à Andrinople⁽²⁰⁾ et il est très probable que les tables de Pléthon ont subi une influence de l'astronomie juive.

Comment expliquer cette subite abondance de traités d'origine juive? On a parfois mis en avant l'activité des écoles juives Karaïtes. Des centres d'activité intellectuelle des juifs Karaïtes étaient, en effet, solidement implantés dans l'empire byzantin aux XIII^e et XIV^e s.⁽²¹⁾ À la fin du XIV^e s., un Juif de Thessalonique, Shelomo ben Eliyahu (fl. 1374-1386) avait traduit en hébreu la *Syntaxe Perse* de Chrysococcès⁽²²⁾. Au XV^e s., un savant juif de Constantinople, Mordecai Comtino (1402-1482), écrit une défense des tables perses en réaction contre les critiques «d'Isaac Argyre et de son école»⁽²³⁾. Cependant, les adaptations byzantines de traités juifs sont surtout dues aux contacts intensifs à cette époque avec l'Italie et l'Occident. Les astronomes dont les tables ont été adaptées en grecs sont tous des Juifs d'Occident : Bonfils, de Tarascon, Bonjorn, de Perpignan et Alhadib, de Castille et de Sicile. Leurs œuvres étaient traduites en latin⁽²⁴⁾. Les tables de Bonjorn et d'Alhadib se trouvent dans un manuscrit de Bessarion, le *Marcianus gr.* 326, ce qui rend plausible la

(20) D'après Gennade Scholarios : voir PLÉTHON, *Traité des Lois*, App. XIX, p. 293 (rééd.).

(21) Voir *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, art. *Karaites*, vol. 10 (1971).

(22) GOLDSTEIN, *The Survival of Arabic Astronomy in Hebrew*, pp. 36-37.

(23) SCHUB, *A Mathematical Text by Mordecai Comtino*, p. 54. Voir note 40.

(24) Pour Bonfils : GOLDSTEIN, *The Survival of Arabic Astronomy in Hebrew*, p. 34, note 11 : trad. latine des *Six Ailes*, Florence BN, Ms J.IV.20. Pour Bonjorn : CHABÀS, *Bonjorn*, p. 154. D'après J. Chabàs, les manuscrits latins les plus anciens sont du XV^e s., mais il n'est pas sûr qu'ils soient antérieurs à la version grecque. Ceci demanderait plus ample recherche.

filère italienne. D'ailleurs les tables de Bonjorn sont dites «italiennes» par leur adaptateur, Marc Eugenicos (A10). Ceci demanderait plus ample investigation.

Le succès des tables juives s'explique en partie par l'intérêt particulier que portaient les Byzantins au calcul des syzygies et aux éclipses — les tables juives importées à Constantinople sont consacrées uniquement à ces problèmes, il n'y est pas fait mention des planètes.

§ 4. *L'astronomie et l'Église*

Un certain nombre de documents, notamment ceux qui critiquent Ptolémée et tentent plus ou moins de le corriger (A5, B5, B6, B8, B9) proviennent de milieux d'astrologues étudiés par D. Pingree (25). Mais, pour le reste, si l'on considère les auteurs de traités astronomiques de cette période, on est frappé par l'importante proportion de gens d'Église qui se sont occupé d'astronomie mathématique. À partir de Théodore Méliténite, en effet, et peut-être grâce à lui, les études astronomiques font partie de la formation des dignitaires ou fonctionnaires de l'Église orthodoxe. Méliténite lui-même, haut fonctionnaire de l'Église byzantine, et en outre *Διδάσκαλος τῶν διδασκάλων* (26), a redonné un plein droit de cité aux études astronomiques — jusque-là peut-être un peu suspectes (27) — dans les hautes sphères ecclésiastiques. En nettoyant clairement l'astronomie de toute attache astrologique, en écrivant un manuel d'enseignement dont les intentions pédagogiques sont évidentes et probablement en l'enseignant lui-même, il a assuré l'avenir de ces études dans les milieux officiels, aussi bien pour l'astronomie de Ptolémée que pour l'astronomie d'origine étrangère. On le voit à considérer ceux qui, après lui, se sont livrés aux études astronomiques : Jean Chortasmenos, notaire patriarcal, futur évêque de Selymbria, a recopié et épluché la *Tribiblos* dans le *Vat. gr.* 1059, ainsi que de nombreux autres traités d'astronomie dont certains inconnus par ailleurs (voir par exemple A3, B3). Professeur zélé et copiste infatigable, on lui doit d'innombrables exercices astronomiques. Jean Chortasmenos a eu parmi ses élèves Marc Eugenicos, futur évêque d'Ephèse et auteur d'un traité d'astronomie juive (A10), Bessarion et d'autres. Michel Chrysococcès, lui aussi adaptateur de l'astronomie juive (A8), était «notaire de la Grande Église». Georges Gémiste Pléthon (A7) lui-même était probablement issu d'une famille de hauts fonctionnaires ecclésiastiques (28). Isidore Glabas (A4) était

(25) PINGREE, *The Astrological School*.

(26) Sur ce titre, voir LEURQUIN, *CAB*, IV, p. 19.

(27) Comme le montrera une étude en préparation de M^{lle} R. LEURQUIN.

(28) WOODHOUSE, pp. 17ss. On ne sait rien cependant de la première éducation de Pléthon.

métropolitaine de Thessalonique. Un autre Isidore, Isidore de Kiev, qui avait étudié à Constantinople, était également expert en astronomie (A12). Matthieu Camariotès, qui écrivit sur l'astronomie juive (A15), gravitait autour du patriarche Gennade II (Georges Scholarios) et fut directeur de l'école patriarcale (29). Le cardinal Bessarion était également intéressé à l'astronomie et joua un rôle considérable dans la diffusion de Ptolémée et de Théon en Occident dans son cercle d'humanistes, dont firent partie Peurbach et Regiomontanus.

La promotion des études astronomiques n'est plus seulement le fait de professeurs privés comme l'était au début du xiv^e s. Nicéphore Grégoras, ou d'astrologues un peu suspects, comme Jean Abramios, Demetrios Chloros ou Eleutherios Elios (A5), mais aussi des gens d'Église. Tous sont élèves les uns des autres ou entretiennent des relations scientifiques même s'ils s'opposent sur le terrain religieux. Ils vont tous pratiquer l'astronomie, l'enseigner et la diffuser.

§ 5. *L'astronomie de Pléthon*

L'étrange personnalité de Georges Gémiste Pléthon, son rôle de précurseur de l'humanisme, son paganisme néo-platonicien teinté de zoroastrisme n'ont pas fini d'exercer sur l'historien une grande fascination. Son astronomie est elle aussi marquée de cette même originalité, ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'elle soit entièrement personnelle. Comme le reste de son œuvre, son système résulte d'une compilation, mais dont les sources ne sont pas encore élucidées. J'ai entrepris, avec la collaboration de R. Mercier, l'édition critique et l'analyse de ce texte, mais le travail n'est pas encore assez avancé pour pouvoir en présenter les conclusions.

L'œuvre se compose d'un bref mode d'emploi, fort succinct et sans exemples, et de tables astronomiques compilées par Pléthon lui-même pour l'année 1433 et la longitude du Péloponnèse. Les valeurs ont été corrigées plus tard par Pléthon lui-même en 1446, en réponse à une demande de Bessarion, semble-t-il. Les sources de Pléthon doivent encore être recherchées : Ptolémée, bien sûr, a été utilisé, et une table mentionne al-Battânî. L'influence juive est probable, mais doit encore être précisée. Comme on l'a déjà signalé (B2), il existe un ouvrage anonyme «proto-Pléthon» (B11) dont les tables sont bâties sur le même modèle que celles de Pléthon, mais utilisent des paramètres différents. Il pourrait s'agir d'un premier essai dû à Pléthon lui-même.

(29) BIEDL, *Matthaeus Camariotes*, p. 337. ASTRUC, *La fin inédite*, p. 248, émet des réserves sur ce point.

§ 6. *La diffusion de l'astronomie ancienne en Occident à l'aube de la Renaissance*

Il faudrait enfin voir dans quelle mesure l'étude incessante de Ptolémée et de Théon, à laquelle les Byzantins se sont livrés de manière constante depuis la fin du XIII^e s., a contribué réellement aux progrès de l'astronomie. On sait, par exemple, dans quelle estime Bessarion et Regiomontanus tenaient les commentaires de Théon⁽³⁰⁾, et les batailles sanglantes qui ont entouré la traduction latine de l'*Almageste* faite par Georges de Trébizonde et ses critiques vis-à-vis de Théon⁽³¹⁾. En entretenant avec un zèle infatigable une connaissance approfondie de Ptolémée et de Théon, les Byzantins ont contribué de façon non négligeable à l'essor de l'astronomie européenne, mais ceci n'appartient plus seulement à l'histoire de l'astronomie byzantine.

§ 7. *Conclusions*

Dès les débuts du XV^e s., l'astronomie est devenue une entreprise internationale, où les barrières de langues et de civilisations n'interviennent plus, où les échanges scientifiques ne connaissent plus de frontière. Les Byzantins ont eux aussi participé à ce mouvement, dans les limites qui leur sont propres. Les Byzantins n'avaient pas de génie astronomique, et il est facile de souligner leurs défauts : ils ne s'intéressaient pas à la théorie, mais seulement aux calculs des longitudes et surtout aux calculs de syzygies et d'éclipses ou aux calculs d'équinoxe, problèmes liés à la fixation de la date de Pâques ; ils créent peu de nouvelles tables et commettent de nombreuses erreurs en adaptant les tables étrangères. Il est difficile de dire s'ils recouraient à l'observation : il y a peu de mentions se référant explicitement à l'observation, et ils n'avaient certainement pas de programmes d'observations systématiques ; mais les efforts incessants qu'ils ont déployés pour trouver des tables mieux adaptées à leur temps montrent qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'une activité purement livresque, comme on le répète trop souvent. De même, si les Byzantins utilisaient encore Ptolémée à une époque où ses tables étaient notoirement périmées, c'est parce qu'elles donnaient encore des résultats valables pour les syzygies et les éclipses, et non par simple conservatisme. À la fin du XIV^e s. et surtout au XV^e s., l'astronomie a fait l'objet d'une activité intense dans le monde byzantin, spécialement dans les cercles intellectuels pré-humanistes même après la chute de Constantinople. Celle-ci mérite d'être mieux connue et appréciée.

(30) MONFASANI, *George of Trebizond*, pp.108 et 196.

(31) *Ibid.*, p. 81 et 104ss.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE : PRÉSENTATION DES DOCUMENTS

Voici l'inventaire des documents utilisés dans cette étude, avec une présentation sommaire de leur contenu. Ils sont classés autant que possible par ordre chronologique, de 1352 à la fin du xv^e s.. Ils sont répartis en deux catégories (32) :

- A. Traités ou documents attribués à un auteur
- B. Textes ou documents anonymes

A. *Traités ou documents attribués à un auteur*1. Théodore Méliténite, *Tribiblos astronomique* (ca 1352).

Éd., Ét. : LEURQUIN, *CAB*, IV-VI.

Ét. : USENER, *Ad historiam astronomiae symbola*, pp. 330ss. ; LEURQUIN, *La Tribiblos*

Mém. : DEMEULENEIRE ; LENAERTS ; LEURQUIN ; PÊCHEUR ; ROELEN.

Pour la présentation de ce traité, on se reportera à l'édition de M^{lle} R. Leurquin.

2. Isaac Argyre, *Traités sur les Tables Nouvelles* (1367/8)

Ét. : PINGREE, *The Astrological School*, pp. 196-197.

Mém. : LAURENT ; WAMPACH.

Ces traités sont au nombre de deux :

(I) Tit. (33) Ἰσαὰκ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ, πραγματεία νέων κανονίων συνοδικῶν τε καὶ πανσεληνιακῶν μεταποιηθέντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Συντάξει καὶ συστάτων πρὸς τε ἔτη ῥωμαϊκὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν διὰ Βυζαντίου μεσημβρινὸν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ χρονικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχόντων τὸ ,ζωος' ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως.

Inc. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Συντάξει...

Tables établies à partir des tables de syzygies de l'*Almageste* de Ptolémée, pour l'année 1367/8, converties en calendrier julien et pour le méridien de Byzance.

(II) Tit. (34) Ἰσαὰκ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ, πραγματεία νέων κανονίων συστάτων κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ,ζωος' ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἔτους.

(32) Pour les références bibliographiques, j'utiliserai les conventions suivantes : Éd. = édition ; Ét. = étude ; R. = simple référence ; Mém. = mémoire ou thèse inédite ; Mss. = manuscrits.

(33) Titres et *incipit* cités d'après le *Vat. gr.* 208. Les appellations (I) et (II) sont arbitraires et ne représentent pas la chronologie des traités qui reste à établir avec certitude.

(34) Titres et *incipit* cités d'après le *Vat. gr.* 208.

Inc. *Ἐπειδήπερ οἱ ἐν τῷ Προχείρῳ κανονίῳ...*

Tables du Soleil et de la Lune établies à partir des *Tables Faciles*, même année, même conversion.

Ces traités sont souvent entremêlés de scolies et il n'est pas toujours facile de voir ce qui en fait partie exactement.

Isaac Argyre prend comme point de départ le 1^{er} septembre 6876 de l'ère byzantine = 1^{er} septembre 1367. Il utilise des périodes de 24 ans et le calendrier julien. Pourquoi 24 ans? Parce ce nombre est multiple de 4, ce qui est utile pour les années bissextiles. Les valeurs inscrites dans les tables sont strictement dérivées de Ptolémée. Une erreur cependant : entre Alexandrie et Constantinople, il y a une différence de 18m due à la différence de méridien. Cette différence est à soustraire. Or, dans le second traité, Isaac Argyre ajoute les valeurs qui correspondent à ces 18m au lieu de les soustraire.

Dans le traité (II) Isaac Argyre déclare qu'il a également établi des tables pour les cinq planètes, par périodes de 24 ans, années simples et mois romains (35) :

... ὡσαυτὸς δὲ ποιήσαντες τοὺς ἐπιλογισμοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀμαλῶν κινήσεων τῶν πέντε πλανωμένων συνεστήσαμεν κάκεινων ἑκάστου κανονίου γ, εἰκοσαετρατηρίδων, ἐτῶν ἀπλῶν καὶ μηνῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν.

Ces tables ne nous sont pas parvenues, mais il existe plusieurs tentatives pour établir des tables de ce genre (B5).

Les tables d'Isaac Argyre, qui seront souvent désignées comme les tables «romaines», auront assez bien de succès. En effet, elles sont faites en calendrier julien et concernent les syzygies, et par là les éclipses, un problème qui retient fort l'attention en cette fin du xiv^e s. (36). Un résumé de ces traités se trouve dans plusieurs manuscrits (B4). Il semble bien que les tables d'Isaac Argyre aient donné le branle à toute une recherche concernant l'élaboration de nouvelles tables aussi bien pour les syzygies que pour les planètes (B5, B8).

D'autres œuvres d'Isaac Argyre traitent également d'astronomie :

— un traité sur les cycles lunaires et solaires :

Tit. (37) *Ἰσαὰκ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ τῷ Οἰναιώτῃ κυρίῳ Ἀνδρονίκῳ μεθόδου αἰτήσαντι λογικὰς ἐκθέσθαι ἡλιακῶν καὶ σεληνιακῶν κύκλων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπομένων.*

Inc. *Ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν νῦν σοφῶν...*

(35) WAMPACH, p. 64.

(36) TIHON, *Calculs d'éclipses*.

(37) Les titres et *incipit* sont cités ici d'après le *Marc. gr.* 328, auquel est reprise la répartition de ces trois traités. Pour la comparaison avec MIGNE (= PETAU), voir BAUFAYS, p. 7.

— sur le commencement de l'année :

Tit. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀργυροῦ ἀπόδειξις ὅτι κυριωτέρα πασῶν ἀρχῆ τῶν τε ἡλιακῶν καὶ σεληνιακῶν κύκλων ἢ τοῦ σεπτεβρίου λ' καὶ τίνος χάριν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἡλιακῶν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὀκτωβρίου α' μετετέθη, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σεληνιακῶν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἰαννουαρίου α'.

Inc. Τῆς τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχῆς...

— sur la date de Pâques :

Tit. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέθοδος περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα.

Inc. Τούτων δὴ οὕτως κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον...

Éd. : PETAU, *Uranologion*, pp. 359-383 (repris par MIGNE, *PG*, 19, col. 1279-1316).

Mém. : BAUFAYS.

Dans son traité sur la date de Pâques, Isaac Argyre propose une autre valeur pour la longueur de l'année tropique :

«le fait de dire que le Soleil, partant d'un point, revient au même point en 365 jours $\frac{1}{4}$ c'est parler grossièrement ; avec plus de précision, (il faut dire) moins une fraction, $\frac{1}{300}$ comme le dit Ptolémée dans la *Syntaxe* ; mais, comme ceux qui chez les Perses s'occupent de la science de l'astronomie, nous aussi, examinant le solstice d'été au lever du Soleil, nous avons cherché pendant plusieurs jours : nous trouvons la fraction qu'il faut enlever de 365 jours $\frac{1}{4}$ plus grande que $\frac{1}{200}$ » (38).

Isaac Argyre propose donc une valeur qui n'est pas précisée exactement. Rappelons que Nicéphore Grégoras proposait $365\frac{1}{4} - \frac{1}{280}$ (39).

Le passage cité ici montre qu'Isaac Argyre n'ignorait pas l'existence des tables perses, et son nom est souvent cité comme auteur de la *Paradosis* (B1). D'après un savant juif, Mordecai Comtino, Isaac Argyre et ses élèves critiquaient les tables perses (40), ce qui n'apparaît pas dans ses œuvres conservées.

3. Demetrius Chrysolóras, Traité sur les *Tables Latines* (ca 1380)

Mém. : DIEZ.

Ms. : *Vat. gr.* 1059, ff. 482-512.

Tit. Μέθοδος τῶν Λατινικῶν τούτων κανονίων ἐκδοθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου κυρίου Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ.

Inc. Ἄλλα μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ περὶ ἄλλων αἰθις...

(38) BAUFAYS, p. 94 = MIGNE, *PG*, 19, col. 1312 (B).

(39) Ci-dessus, p. 246.

(40) Je remercie R. Mercier qui a vérifié pour moi le texte de Comtino sur les manuscrits *Paris. Heb.* 1084 et 1085. Il faudrait plus de recherches pour voir à quels textes Comtino fait allusion.

Il s'agit ici d'une adaptation grecque des *Tables Alphonsines* rédigée vers 1380 par Demetrius Chrysoloras.

Demetrius Chrysoloras a été le confident de l'empereur Manuel II Paléologue (1391-1425) ; il serait mort vers 1417 ⁽⁴¹⁾. Il a composé notamment plusieurs traités de théologie ou d'hagiographie et ses connaissances en astronomie sont démontrées par le présent traité. Il avait une grande réputation de philosophe et de savant, et, dans une lettre, Jean Chortasmenos lui demande avec insistance la faveur de lui faire partager un peu de ses connaissances, notamment en ce qui concerne Euclide et Ptolémée ⁽⁴²⁾.

Le texte n'est conservé que dans un seul manuscrit, le *Vat. gr.* 1059, ff. 482-512, énorme compilation astronomique due au notaire érudit et calligraphe Jean Chortasmenos (voir A6).

À la fin du texte, f. 512, il y a une liste de *radices* (ἐποχαί) le 31 décembre de l'année 0 (Jour julien 1721423) pour les longitudes de Chypre et de Paris. Les données pour Paris sont proches de celles éditées par E. Poulle, mais pas exactement conformes ⁽⁴³⁾. Le fait que les *radices* soient également données pour Chypre semble indiquer que c'est par la voie chypriote que ces tables «latines» sont arrivées à Constantinople :

— Position pour Chypre, longitude du Soleil :

Soleil : 4, 38, 15, 20, 13, 49 , 39, 20

Longitude de la Lune : 2, 1, 21, 5, 6, 38, 9, 38

Mouvement propre de la Lune : 3, 17, 45, 6, 43, 23, 59, 18

Nœuds :

Ascendant : 1, 31, 55, 34, 19, 43, 45, 30

Longitude de Saturne : 1,14, 5, 14, 10, 45, 39, 20

Longitude de Jupiter : 3, 0, 37, 10, 40, 29, 5, 41

Longitude de Mars : 0, 41, 24, 26, 39, 42, 29, 50

Longitude de Vénus : 2, 9, 20, 42, 54, 5, 12, 2

Longitude de Mercure : 0, 45, 17, 41, 11, 44, 34, 38

— Position de l'apogée :

Soleil Vénus : 1, 11, 25, 20

Saturne : 3, 53, 23, 42, 4

Jupiter : 2, 37, 37, 0, 4

Mars : 1, 55, 12, 13, 4

Mercure : 3, 10, 39, 33, 4

(41) Cependant le titre semble indiquer qu'il est mort au moment de la copie du *Vat. gr.* 1059, vers 1410-1415.

(42) Voir HUNGER, *Chortasmenos*, p. 173. La lettre a été écrite à l'époque où Demetrius était le *mesazôn* (ministre-confident) de Jean VII Paléologue (1403-1408).

(43) POULLE, *Tables alphonsines*, pp. 124-125 et 127.

— Position pour Paris :

Longitude du Soleil : 4, 38, 19, 2, 13, 49, 39, 22

Longitude de la Lune : 2, 1, 10, 29, 6, 38, 9, 38

Mouvement propre de la Lune : 3, 18, 34, 6, 43, 23, 59, 18

Nœuds :

Ascendant : 1, 31, 55, 46, 19, 43, 45, 30

Longitude de Saturne : 1, 14, 5, 16, 10, 49, 24, 39

Longitude de Jupiter : 3, 0, 37, 10, 45, 29, 5, 45

Longitude de Mars : 0, 41, 24, 26, 49, 42, 29, 50

Longitude de Vénus : 2, 9, 20, 48, 57, 5, 12, 2

Longitude de Mercure : 0, 45, 17, 41, 11, 34, 38

— Conjonctions et pleines Lunes : 3, 24, 1, 26, 54, 48

Conjonctions et pleines Lunes : 3, 34, 2, 15, 7, 10, 15, 6

8^e sphère : 5, 59, 12, 33, 58, 59, 10, 22

— Apogée pour l'année 1378 :

Soleil Vénus : 1, 32, 7, 32

Saturne : 4, 14, 6, 14

Jupiter : 2, 54, 19, 32

Mars : 2, 15, 54, 45

Mercure : 3, 31, 22, 5

4. Isidore Glabas : liste de syzygies de 1390 -1409.

Ét. : ΤΙΗΟΝ, *Calculs d'éclipses byzantins*, pp. 359-360.

Mém. : MARS.

Mss : *Vat. gr.* 1110 ; *Vat. Reginensis gr.* 43 ; *Athous Μονή 'Αγ. Στεφ.* 135 ; *Athous Μονή Μεταμορφώσεως* 154 etc.

Tit. [‘Ο ιθ’ κύκλος τῆς σελήνης ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου κύκλου, καὶ ἀναβιβάζεται ἕως τὸν ιθ’ καὶ πάλιν ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου]. Σύνταγμα ψηφηφορικὸν καὶ σύνοδος πανσελήνος, ἔκλειψις ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης · εὕρησις ἀκριβῆς πονηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ πανιερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ἐξάρχου πάσης Θεσσαλίας καὶ Μακεδονίας κυροῦ Ἰσιδώρου.

Inc. Κύκλος πρώτος. Ἀποχύσεις τῆς σελήνης...

Isidore Glabas fut nommé métropolitain de Thessalonique en 1380. Il a calculé un cycle lunaire de 19 ans allant du 1^{er} mars 1390 au 1^{er} mars 1409, pour lequel il donne les dates et heures des syzygies, avec à l'occasion l'annonce des éclipses. On ne sait pas sur quelles bases ce cycle a été calculé.

5. Méthodes d'Eleutherios Elios, par son élève Dionysios (ca 1391)

Ét. : PINGREE, *The Astrological School*, pp. 204-205 ; ΤΙΗΟΝ, *Calculs d'éclipses byzantins*, p. 359.Ms. : *Laur.* 28/16, f. 26r-v. Voir également *Berol. gr.* 173, f. 123.

Tit. Σύντομος μέθοδος περὶ τοῦ εὐρίσκειν τὸν ἥλιον ἐν ποίῳ ζῳδίῳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ μοίρᾳ καὶ λεπτῶ ὑπάρχει· μέθοδος Ἐλευθερίου τοῦ ἐμοῦ διδασκάλου Διονυσίου.

Inc. Λαμβάνομεν τὰ παρακείμενα τοῖς Περσικοῖς ἔτεσι...

Il s'agit d'un court texte expliquant brièvement le mode d'emploi des tables perses. Eleutherios Elios était un astrologue auquel on doit notamment la copie de l'*Angelicus gr.* 29, achevé à Mitylène en 1388 (44). Il était de toute évidence professeur d'astronomie : en témoignent non seulement le texte ci-dessus, qui porte la mention explicite de son élève Dionysios, mais également un calcul d'éclipse de Soleil (5 avril 1391), rapporté par un autre de ses élèves au f. 123 du *Berolinensis gr.* 173 (Phillipps 1577) (45) : ἐψηφοφορήθη (οὕτως s.l.) παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου μου Κύ(ρου) Ἐλευθερίου ἢ παρελθοῦσα ἔκλειψις ἡλίου ἢ γέγονεν ἐν ἔτ(ει) ρθ, κατὰ δὲ Πέρσας ψξ ... κτλ.

Au f. 123v, le même élève rapporte des calculs de latitude de planètes : ἐζητήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ γνῶναι καὶ τὰ πλάτη τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ ἐσχηματίσθη παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου οὕτως μετὰ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τῆς μεθόδου.

Ces exercices sont faits pour Constantinople.

6. Jean Chortasmenos (ca 1404-1414)

Ét. HUNGER, *Chortasmenos* ; LEURQUIN, *CAB IV*, pp. 51-67 ; TIHON, dans *Théon, P.C.*, pp. 127-133.

Ms. : *Vat. gr.* 1059 ; également *Urbinas gr.* 80, ff. 19-29

Jean Chortasmenos (ca 1370-1439), notaire patriarchal, copiste, professeur, plus tard archevêque de Selymbria (1431) a fait preuve d'une énorme activité dans le domaine de l'astronomie. Il recopié quantité de traités, tables ou scolies astronomiques (par exemple A1, A2, A3, B3, B11), s'est livré à d'innombrables exercices d'astronomie. Son rôle fut certainement très important dans la formation de nombreux élèves — parmi ceux-ci Marc Eugenicos (A10) et Bessarion (A13), qu'il envoya ensuite parfaire ses études auprès de Pléthon à Mistra (46). Il n'est pas possible de détailler ici son activité. Souvent, il calcule les mêmes problèmes (équinoxes, solstices, syzygies...) par toutes les tables dont il dispose (*Almageste*, *Tables Faciles*, Isaac Argyre, tables perses...) et

(44) *CCAG*, V.1, p. 4 et 36. Voir TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, I, pp. 250-251 (II, pl. 208 ; 262c). Sur Eleutherios Elios, voir PINGREE, *The Astrological School* (cette étude importante contient cependant de nombreuses confusions dans le domaine paléographique).

(45) *CCAG*, VII, p. 56. Selon TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, I, p. 247, la main qui a copié ce calcul n'est pas celle de Dionysios, ni celle de Jean Abramios.

(46) MOHLER, *Bessarion*, III, p. 406

compare les résultats ; parfois il combine les différentes méthodes. Ses calculs s'échelonnent principalement sur les années 1409 à 1415 environ.

7. Georges Gémiste Pléthon, *Traité astronomique* (ca 1433)

Éd. : en préparation pour le *CAB* par R. MERCIER et A. TIHON.

Mém. : LEFIN.

Mss. : *Sinaiticus* 534 (2124), ff. 2-15 ; *Vind. Ph. gr.* 140, ff. 78-90.

Tit. *Γεωργίου φιλοσόφου τοῦ Γεμιστοῦ μέθοδος εὐρέσεως ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης συνόδων καὶ πανσελήνων καὶ τῆς ἀστέρων ἐποχῆς ἀπὸ κανόνων οὓς αὐτὸς συνεστήσατο.*

Inc. *Νυχθήμερόν ἐστι ἡλίου...*

Des. ... *ἡ τοῦ ἀστέρος ἐστὶ ἀκριβῆς ἐποχή.*

Un commentaire détaillé sera donné dans l'édition en préparation.

8. Michel Chrysococcès, *Traité sur l'Hexaptéryge*, ca 1434/5

Ét. : SOLON, *The Six Wings*.

Mém. : SOLON, texte 1, pp. 14-113 ; BAETSLE.

Mss. : voir liste dans SOLON, *The Six Wings*, pp. 16-17, note 6. Ajouter *Leidensis* BPG 74E, ff. 96-129v (avec tables) ; *Londinensis Burney* 91-92, ff. 83-114.

Tit. *Ἐκδοσις εἰς τὸ ἰουδαϊκὸν ἑξαπτέρυγον*

Μιχαὴλ Νοταρίου τῆς Μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χρυσοκόκκη ἑκδοσις γεγонуία εἰς τὸ ἰουδαϊκὸν ἑξαπτέρυγον κατὰ τὸ ,ς' ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ παντός (47).

Inc. *Τῆς τῶν πλανωμένων ἀστέρων φορᾶς...*

Des. ... *ἔσχομεν τὸν σύμπαντα τῆς ἐκλείψεως χρόνον.*

Il s'agit d'un commentaire du traité juif *Shesh Kenaphayim* (les «Six Ailes») d'Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils de Tarascon, ca 1365.

Texte, analyse et commentaire dans les travaux cités de P. Solon.

9. Matthieu Paléologue : tables inspirées des tables perses, ca. 1436

Ét. : PINGREE, *Chionides* , p. 159 ; TIHON, *Traité astronomique chypriote*, I, pp. 302-305.

Il s'agit de tables dérivées des tables perses de Chrysococcès, établies au 1^{er} mars 1436 et pour une longitude de 57°. On n'en a conservé que des fragments.

(47) Titre du *Paris. Suppl gr.* 754 (ce manuscrit est la description par Minoïde Mynas du Vatopedi 188).

10. Marc Eugenicos : *Méthodes sur les Nouvelles Tables Faciles composées en Italie et appelées cycles*, ca. 1448

Ét. : MERCATI, *Scritti d'Isidoro*, pp. 43-46 ; SOLON, *The Six Wings*, p 16, note 1.

Mém. : SOLON, texte 4, pp. 182-244.

Mss. : *Vat. gr.* 1879, ff. 231-237 (sans tables) ⁽⁴⁸⁾. Tables (sans titre) : *Marc. gr.* 326, ff. 61-64 ; 117-124v et 171-174v.

Tit. *Μέθοδος εἰς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλία συστάντας νέους προχείρους κανόνας τοὺς καλουμένους κύκλους.*

Inc. *Περὶ τῆς τῶν προκειμένων κανόνων συστάσεως. Ἡ τῶν κανόνων σύστασις...*

Des. ... ἀκριβῶς ἐσόμεθα καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἡλιακὴν ἔκλειψιν.

Il s'agit des *Tables Cycliques* de Bonjorn (Jacob ben David Yom-Tob, Perpignan, ca 1361), adaptées par Marc Eugenicos (ca 1448).

Le texte de Marc Eugenicos (= Solon, texte 4) se trouve sans les tables dans le *Vat. gr.* 1879, ff. 231-237, copié par Isidore de Russie ⁽⁴⁹⁾. Solon n'a pas retrouvé les tables correspondantes en grec, mais celles-ci se trouvent au complet dans le *Marc. gr.* 326, sans titre, en ordre perturbé ⁽⁵⁰⁾ :

ff. 61-64 : table 1, an. 25-31

ff. 64v-65v : table 2

ff. 66-67v : table 3

ff. 68r-v : table 4

ff. 117-124v : table 1, an. 9-24

ff. 171-174v : table 1, an. 1-8

ff. 175 -179 : table 4 (suite)

f. 179v : table 5

11. Andronic Doucas Sgouros : Tables de parallaxes corrigées (ca.1440)

Ms. : *Paris. gr.* 2107, ff. 230-240v ; *Ambr.* E 80 sup, ff. ?

L'auteur est connu comme rhéteur, adversaire des Latins ⁽⁵¹⁾. Les tables «nouvelles» dont il s'agit ici sont des tables de parallaxes dérivées des *Tables Faciles* et reprenant simplement les parallaxes en latitude. Elles sont suivies d'autres tables «nouvelles» dérivées apparemment des tables perses (table de deuxième correction de la Lune ⁽⁵²⁾, tables de latitude de la Lune) ⁽⁵³⁾. On trouve ensuite, du même auteur, quelques notes sur l'astrolabe ⁽⁵⁴⁾.

(48) Autres manuscrits signalés par MERCATI, *Scritti d'Isidoro*, p. 43.

(49) MERCATI, *Scritti d'Isidoro*, p. 40ss.

(50) Identifiées avec l'aide de J. Chabàs. Les numéros sont ceux de CHABÀS, *Bonjorn*. Cf. aussi *Vatopedi* 188.

(51) *PLP*, fasc 10, n° 25048

(52) TIHON, *Traité astronomique chypriote*, I, p. 298-299.

12. Isidore de Russie : calculs et notes diverses (ca 1454)

Dans le *Vat. gr.* 1852, ff. 212-259, se trouvent une série de calculs (Soleil, Lune, planètes, éclipses) de la main d'Isidore de Russie, effectués selon les tables perses, pour diverses années (1423, 1435, 1450 ...). Il pourrait être l'auteur des éphémérides B12, conservés dans le même manuscrit, bien que ceux-ci ne soient pas transcrits de sa main.

Isidore de Russie (ca 1385-1463) avait été éduqué à Constantinople⁽⁵⁵⁾. Il n'est pas certain qu'il s'agisse du même personnage qu'Isidore de Monembasia, élève de Pléthon⁽⁵⁶⁾. Ses annotations en marge de nombreux traités d'astronomie⁽⁵⁷⁾ montrent son intérêt pour cette discipline. On lui doit la copie du traité A10.

13. Bessarion

Ét. RIGO, *Bessarione* ; *Id.*, *Gli interessi astronomici*.

Le rôle de Bessarion (1399/1400-1472) dans la promotion des études astronomiques, son intérêt personnel pour cette discipline ont été fort bien décrits dans les études citées d'A. Rigo. Élève de Jean Chortasmenos à Constantinople (1423 ss.), puis de Gémiste Pléthon à Mistra (ca 1431), Bessarion avait été formé à l'étude de l'astronomie. Dans une lettre à Pléthon écrite en 1445, il lui demande des explications sur son traité astronomique et fait valoir son manque de pratique dans cette matière pour arriver à utiliser les tables de Pléthon. Bessarion fut le promoteur en Occident de l'astronomie de Ptolémée et de Théon, dont il encouragea les traductions latines. On trouve de sa main de nombreuses exercices astronomiques, qui montrent la fusion de la tradition byzantine et de méthodes nouvelles. Ainsi, dans le *Marc. gr.* 526, ff. 192-195 il calcule la valeur de l'anomalie solaire selon la méthode de l'*Almageste*, puis la même chose selon les Arabes ou les Latins, au moyen de la table des sinus (*κολπωμάτων*), ce qui est, dit-il, plus facile.

14. Georges de Trébizonde : *Introduction à l'Almageste* (1466)

Ét. MONFASANI, *George of Trebizond, passim* ; *Collectanea*, pp. 281-284 et 671-688.

Ms. : *Monacensis gr.* 537, ff. 36v-66 (livre I) et 67-108 (livre II).

(53) TIHON, *ibid.*, II, p. 61.

(54) TIHON, *Traité byzantins de l'astrolabe*.

(55) Il n'est pas certain qu'il ait été l'élève de Pléthon : voir WOODHOUSE, p. 37.

(56) WOODHOUSE, p. 37.

(57) Par exemple, en marge du *Petit Commentaire* de Théon : voir TIHON, dans THÉON, *P.C.*, p. 23

Tit. *Γεωργίου τοῦ Τραπεζουντίου ἐκ τῶν προγόνων, Κρήτης δὲ τῆ γεννήσει τε καὶ ἀνατροφῇ, πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ὅσον οὐπω πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Σύνταξιν βιβλίον α^{ον} καὶ περὶ τῆς αἰδίου δόξης αὐτοῦ βιβλίον β^{ον}.*

Inc. *Ἀφικόμην εἰς Κωνσταντίνου ἄριστε βασιλεῦ βασιλέων καὶ αὐτοκράτορ αὐτοκρατόρων...*

Des. (livre I) ... *τῶν ἰ ἐγγιστα ἀκριβῆ.*

Ceci est la version grecque de l'*Introduction à l'Almageste* que Georges de Trébizonde avait d'abord rédigée en latin. Pour l'histoire de ce traité, ses rapports avec la version latine, les péripéties mouvementées et les polémiques qui ont accompagné ces œuvres, on se reportera aux travaux cités de John Monfasani⁽⁵⁸⁾. L'*Introduction à l'Almageste* de Georges de Trébizonde est surtout, pour le livre I, un manuel d'arithmétique. Dans celui-ci, il critique Théon, Geber (Jâbir b. Aflâh), Léon le Juif (Levi ben Gerson) et Thebet (Thâbit b. Qurrah)⁽⁵⁹⁾. L'astronomie proprement dite n'y est pas abordée.

15. Matthieu Camariotès : le *Chemin Pur* (avant 1490)

Mém. : BAETSLE (instructions, sans les tables).

Ms. : *Leidensis* BPG 74 E, ff. 94-95v (sans tables, sauf peut-être un fragment f. 132). Les tables se trouvent dans le *Marc. gr.* 326, ff. 135-138v, sans titre ; et dans le *Vatopedi* 188, ff. 113-118v.

Tit. *Μέθοδος εἰς τὸ ἐπιγραφόμενον πρόχειρον Ὅδὸς καθαρὰ Ματθαίου τοῦ Καμαριώτου.*

Inc. *Καὶ ἄλλοι βραχύτατοι καὶ προχειρότατοι κανόνες ἐς ἀστρονομίαν...*

Des. ... *καὶ ἡ ὥρα τῆς ἐκλείψεως ἀναδοθήσονται.*

Commentaire du traité juif *Orah Selulah* (le «Sentier Aplani») d'Isaac ben Salomon ben Zaddiq Alhadib (Juif espagnol, Castille ca 1370, puis Sicile : Syracuse 1396, Palerme, 1426)⁽⁶⁰⁾. Matthieu Camariotès faisait partie du cercle d'érudits qui gravitaient autour du patriarche Gennade II (Georges Scholarios) et qui s'opposaient violemment au courant néo-platonicien de Georges Gémiste Pléthon. Il a écrit dans divers domaines et prit la tête de l'école patriarchale

(58) MONFASANI donne une édition de la préface (pp. 281-284) avec traduction anglaise, et des extraits de la version latine avec commentaires (pp. 671-688). Pour la version grecque, il ne donne pas d'édition (sinon la préface déjà mentionnée), mais seulement la table des matières et l'équivalence avec le texte latin, et des notes fort utiles.

(59) Voir par exemple f. 55v : *οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνας θέονα τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας θαυμάσαντες ἐπλανήθησαν· κακῶς γὰρ...* MONFASANI, *George of Trebizond*, p. 108 et 196 ; ID., *Collectanea*, pp. 671-685 ; RIGO, *Bessarione*, p. 61

(60) GOLDSTEIN, *Hebrew Astronomical Tradition*, p. 238.

de Constantinople après la mort de Scholarios (*). On lui doit aussi des scolies au traité de l'astrolabe de Nicéphore Grégoras (61). Il mourut en 1490/1.

B. Textes et documents anonymes

1. La *Paradosis* sur les tables perses (ca 1352 ss)

Ét. : NICOLAIDES, *Quelques notes* ; ΤΙΗΟΝ, *Tables astronomiques persanes*.

Mém. : VAN GOUBERGEN.

Tit. *Παράδοσις εἰς τοὺς Περσικοὺς κανόνας τῆς ἀστρονομίας.*

Inc. *Ἡ τῶν Περσικῶν κανόνων σύστασις γέγονε...*

Sous ce titre, on trouve le livre III de la *Tribiblos* de Théodore Méliténite, mais souvent retravaillé et modernisé. L'édition par R. Leurquin paraîtra avec le livre III de la *Tribiblos*.

Il en existe une traduction latine conservée dans le *Marc. lat.* cl. VIII, 31, effectuée au début du xv^e siècle.

2. Un mode d'emploi anonyme (sans date) sur les tables perses (*Vat. gr.* 210)

Mém. : LANNON.

Tit. *Συντομωτέρα ἐξήγησις ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς κανόσιν · οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Χρυσοκόκκη ἔκθεσιν καὶ μέθοδον.*

Inc. *Ἡ τῶν Περσικῶν ἀπλῶν ἔφοδος τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον λαμβάνεται...*

Mode d'emploi résumé des tables perses, anonyme, sans exemples, qui figure dans le *Vat. gr.* 210, ff. 40-42v.

3. Des textes anonymes du *Vat. gr.* 1059 (ca 1357)

Aux ff. 109-135 du *Vat. gr.* 1059, se trouve un ensemble de scolies assez disparates, entrecoupées de tables astronomiques. Plusieurs sont datées : 1356/7, 1344/5, 1350/1, 1359/60, 1352/3, 1340/1. Il s'agit manifestement de l'œuvre d'un seul auteur qui travaillait dans les années 1350-1357. Ce dernier reste inconnu : le copiste, Jean Chortasmenos, exerçait son activité vers les années 1404-1414 : il semble difficile de lui attribuer ces textes (62). L'auteur s'intéresse beaucoup aux calculs d'équinoxes et de solstices. Ainsi, f. 134, il

(*) Voir ci-dessus, note 29.

(61) Ed. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, pp. 211-212.

(62) L'argument en soi n'est pas décisif, car Chortasmenos aimait travailler sur les données de ses prédécesseurs. Mais dans ce cas, il ne dit pas «l'année présente» (τὸ νῦν ἔτος) comme on le lit dans les scolies. Mais il est difficile de dire la part qui lui revient dans ces scolies.

explique comment calculer l'équinoxe avec les tables de Ptolémée. Il reprend le passage d'Isaac Argyre sur la longueur de l'année cité plus haut ⁽⁶³⁾ en y ajoutant une précision supplémentaire :

«... nous trouvons plus grande que $\frac{1}{200}$ la fraction des 365 jours qu'il faut enlever du quart de jour ou plutôt plus courte que $\frac{1}{100}$; et ainsi nous trouverons les équinoxes et les solstices vrais de l'année.»

Il s'intéresse en particulier à la théorie de la trépidation des équinoxes telle qu'elle est expliquée dans le *Petit Commentaire* de Théon ⁽⁶⁴⁾ (ff. 133-135). En appliquant cette théorie aux années 1352 et ss., l'auteur pense corriger l'erreur des tables de Ptolémée pour son époque et les mettre d'accord avec les tables perses. Ainsi, il explique comment il faut calculer la précession selon le *Petit Commentaire* de Théon. Il trouve pour l'année 6865 (= 1356/7) une valeur de $5^\circ 5'$ ($5^\circ \frac{1}{12}$) à ajouter aux positions du Soleil et des planètes. À l'aide de cette valeur il corrige les résultats trouvés pour l'équinoxe avec les tables de Ptolémée et trouve finalement l'équinoxe le 12 mars à 2 h après midi, en accord avec les tables perses.

En appliquant la méthode de Théon, on trouve effectivement un déplacement de $5 ; 4, 30^\circ$ pour l'année 1357. C'est le seul texte byzantin que je connaisse qui ait tenté d'appliquer cette correction.

4. Résumé des *Tables Nouvelles* d'Isaac Argyre (après 1368).

Ét. : PINGREE, *The Astrological School*, p. 197.

Mém. : VAN STEENSTRAETEN.

Tit. *Διὰ συντόμων εὑρεσις κατὰ τὸν ζητούμενον ῥωμαϊκὸν μῆνα τοῦ ἐνισταμένου ἔτους τοῦ τε τόπου καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν συνόδων καὶ τῶν πανσελήνων διὰ κανονίων νέων μεταποιηθέντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Συντάξει, ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις καὶ πανσελήνοις · καὶ διὰ κανονίων τῆς ἀνωμαλίας ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης ἐξ ὧν καὶ συντομωτάτη μέθοδος ὑποδηλοῦσα ἐν ποίᾳ συζυγίᾳ ἔσται ἔκλειψις ἡλίου ἢ σελήνης · ὑπὲρ τινῶν τοῦτο αἰτησάντων ὡς ἐνὸν γενέσθαι · εἶτα ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῆς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐποχῆς ὀμαλῆς τε καὶ ἀνωμάλου ἡλίου · σελήνης δὲ μόνης τῆς ὀμαλῆς.*

Inc. *Ἡ σύνοδος καὶ ἡ πανσέληνος ἦτε ὀμαλή ...*

Il s'agit d'un résumé anonyme du traité (I) d'Isaac Argyre sur les *Tables Nouvelles*. Ce texte est contenu dans le *Vat. gr.* 208 (ff. 13-20), le *Vat. gr.* 1058 (ff. 259-260), le *Laur.* 28/14 (ff. 18-20v) et le *Marc. gr.* 336 (ff. 155-158).

Dans le *Vat. gr.* 208, le texte se réfère explicitement à Isaac Argyre en ces termes : *διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τις τούνομα Ἰσαὰκ τὸ σχῆμα μοναχὸς* («à cause de

(63) Ci-dessus, p. 259.

(64) THÉON, *P.C.*, pp. 236-237 (trad. p. 319).

cela un certain Isaac de nom, moine par son habit...»), mais les autres manuscrits, le nom est omis, avec un espace vide ⁽⁶⁵⁾. D. Pingree attribue ce résumé au même auteur que le texte B8, qu'il identifie avec Jean Abramios ⁽⁶⁶⁾.

5. Des essais de tables de planètes pour 1376

Ms. : *Vat. gr.* 208, ff. 207v-208r-v et 226v

Il s'agit de tentatives assez incohérentes et inachevées pour établir des tables au départ du 1^{er} mars (ou 28 février) 1376, pour la longitude de Constantinople, à partir des *Tables Faciles*. Peut-être l'auteur a-t-il voulu corriger les valeurs trouvées par les tables de Ptolémée en utilisant pour la précession une valeur d'origine islamique. Mais ces essais ne sont pas achevés et leur interprétation est incertaine.

Dans ce même manuscrit, on trouve des œuvres d'Isaac Argyre, et il semblerait que l'auteur ait essayé de poursuivre l'œuvre de celui-ci pour les planètes : adapter les tables de Ptolémée à un point de départ plus proche, pour Byzance, par périodes de 24 ans et pour le calendrier romain. On trouve aussi des remarques critiques vis-à-vis de Ptolémée, extraites des textes mentionnés sous B8 (f. 20v, encre brune) :

«Il faut savoir que, pour les positions des astres et pour les conjonctions des luminaires, non seulement les *Tables Faciles* se trompent au sujet du lieu et du temps, mais aussi la *Grande Syntaxe* de Ptolémée et surtout dans les positions des astres, moyennes et vraies et dans les syzygies moyennes de sorte que dans les unes, (les tables de Ptolémée) se trompent toujours de beaucoup : dans les syzygies moyennes, de quelques heures ; dans les syzygies vraies, c'est dans le lieu exposé que se trouve l'erreur et, pour le temps, de quelques heures ou partie d'heures. Donc, à cause du fait qu'il n'est pas possible de corriger tout, il faut les repousser et les supprimer, et il faut les considérer comme rien, ne pas les regarder et les considérer comme inutiles. Mais il faut plutôt chérir tout ce qui ne fournira pas beaucoup d'embarras pour trouver ce que l'étude de telles choses peut (fournir) et pour découvrir ce que la recherche des anciens ne réussit pas (à trouver) si elle n'est pas corrigée par nous en tout point »⁽⁶⁷⁾.

En dessous, de la même main, semble-t-il, mais en rouge, cette remarque, en contradiction avec la première :

«les tables converties et examinées par nous à partir de la *Grande Syntaxe* ont été trouvées n'étant pas erronées le moins du monde ou s'écartant de la vérité. Il faut donc les utiliser sans souci et ne pas les soupçonner de ce que d'après elles la syzygie vraie sera trouvée moins bien qu'avec la *Syntaxe* de Ptolémée.»

(Ceci semble concerner les tables d'Isaac Argyre).

(65) Voir sur ceci PINGREE, *The Astrological School*, p. 197.

(66) *Ibidem*.

(67) Ce passage se retrouve dans le *Laur.* 28/14, f. 25v (cf. *infra*, B8).

6. Des listes d'éclipses de 1376 à 1408

Ét. : PINGREE, *The Astrological School* ; TIHON, *Calculs d'éclipses*, pp. 354-357.

Ms. : *Laur.* 28/14

Pour ces listes d'éclipses, on se reportera aux études citées ci-dessus.

7. Des chapitres anonymes d'astronomie perses ca. 1379-1382

Ms. : *Ox. Canonicianus gr.* 81, ff. 73-77

Ét. : TIHON, *Calculs d'éclipses*, pp. 357-358.

Tit. (= titre du premier chapitre) : *Περὶ τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἔτους τῶν Περσῶν.*

Inc. *Λαβῶν τὰ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἔτη, ἄφελε...*

Il s'agit de chapitres anonymes sur l'astronomie perse inspirés de Chrysococcès, mais avec des exemples différents : éclipse de Soleil du 16 mai 1379 à Constantinople, éclipse de Lune du 30 mars 1382 notamment.

8. Des chapitres astronomiques anonymes du *Laur.* 28/14 (ca 1374 ss) (attribués par Pingree à Jean Abramios)

Ét. : PINGREE, *The Astrological School*, p. 198 et *passim* ; TIHON, *Calculs d'éclipses*, pp. 355-6.

Mém. : SERVAIS.

Il s'agit ici d'un ensemble de chapitres astronomiques rédigés vers 1374ss. et contenus dans le *Laur.* 28/14, ff. 23-30v⁽⁶⁸⁾. On les trouve également dans le *Marc. gr.* 336, ff. 158-162⁽⁶⁹⁾, mais malheureusement fort effacés. Ils sont à mettre en relation avec les documents B4, B5, B6 et B9.

D. Pingree a proposé de les attribuer à Jean Abramios, mais cette attribution sera discutée plus loin.

Ces textes sont importants, car ils critiquent Ptolémée, et surtout discutent du moyen de corriger les tables astronomiques. Malheureusement, il ne s'agit pas d'un traité bien rédigé, mais plutôt d'un ensemble de notes, souvent obscures, incomplètes ou trop allusives, et difficiles à interpréter.

Ces chapitres font suite à un résumé d'Isaac Argyre (B4). En voici un bref sommaire. Les titres et folios indiqués sont ceux du *Laur.* 28/14 :

1. «Comment trouver la position en longitude du Soleil et de la Lune si on ne l'a pas trouvée exactement d'après les conjonctions et les pleines Lunes» (f. 23).

(68) Une description détaillée du contenu du *Laur.* 28/14 se trouve dans le *CCAG*, I, pp. 20-37. Voir aussi PINGREE, *Hephaestio*, p. xv.

(69) L'état du manuscrit rend difficile de délimiter le début et la fin de ces textes.

2. «Comment savoir s'il y a une éclipse dans les syzygies» (ex. 10 juin 6883 = 1375) (f. 23v).
3. «Sur les nœuds écliptiques et la latitude de la Lune, et à quel nombre il y aura éclipse» (f. 24v).
4. «Sur les nœuds dans les éclipses» (f. 25).
5. «Table du mouvement de la Lune pour connaître le lieu des éclipses» (f. 25).
6. «Table de latitude par années simples ; mois du Soleil ; mois de la Lune» (f. 25).
7. «Sur les positions de la Lune» (f. 25v).
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10. Correction pour les cinq planètes (f. 28).
11. Diverses remarques sur les tables grecques et perses (avec date 13 septembre 1376) (f. 29v).
12. Élaboration de nouvelles tables (1^{er} mars 1376) (f.29r-v) avec les paramètres (voir ci-dessous).
13. Tables de la Lune par périodes de 24 ans, années simples, mois romains, heures depuis midi (f. 30r-v).

Voici un extrait, qui explique pourquoi il faut corriger les tables (ch. 9 = f. 26 ss) :

«Selon les paramètres et les hypothèses de Claude Ptolémée, le temps long n'a pas transmis jusqu'à maintenant les tables établies par lui de manière à sauver l'exactitude, du moins de manière imperceptible, en ce qui concerne la désignation des positions des sept astres en des moments précis. En effet, nous voyons toujours les apparences diverger de beaucoup dans les positions en longitude. D'où la nécessité désormais de corriger, d'établir des paramètres de manière plus exacte et surtout de mettre au point les hypothèses et ainsi de convertir les tables de façon à ce qu'elles puissent suffire pendant très longtemps à sauver les apparences avec précision. Mais, ceci demandant beaucoup de peine pour ceux qui n'ont pas dans des registres ce qui s'est passé d'après les observations particulières, il nous arrivera bien vite, si nous faisons cela, de marcher en dehors du chemin, d'autant plus qu'il n'est pas possible de tout mettre au point.

Voici donc ce qu'il me faut établir comme norme et poser comme commencement afin de rencontrer au plus près la vérité au moyen des *Tables Faciles* de Ptolémée trouvées par nous, je veux dire, des années, des mois et des heures pour les mouvements moyens en longitude des sept astres.»

Suivent alors des explications, assez obscures, qui montrent comment il faut corriger les tables pour le Soleil et pour la Lune. Il n'est pas possible

de discuter ici ces méthodes en détail. On voit que l'auteur veut corriger les *Tables Faciles* (ou plutôt les tables d'Isaac Argyre qui en dérivent) en prenant un nouveau point de départ par observation, à l'aide d'un astrolabe armillaire le plus grand possible.

Pour le Soleil, l'observation doit être faite à midi du jour le plus court, et il faut tenir compte du fait que l'apogée bouge. Pour la Lune, il faudra observer le milieu d'une éclipse de Lune et s'arranger pour que le nombre du centre de l'épicycle tombe à 360° à cet instant. L'auteur donne comme exemple l'éclipse de 22 août 6882 (= 1374), mais les nombres donnés sont très incohérents. Pour les planètes, il faudra aussi corriger par observation la position du Cœur du Lion, puis la position de la planète par rapport à cette étoile. Enfin l'auteur termine en disant qu'il a transposé les tables grecques (*Tables Faciles*) en tables romaines (donc selon le calendrier romain) au départ du 1^{er} mars 6884 (= 1376) à midi pour le Soleil et la Lune. Pour les planètes, il a simplement adapté les tables perses au départ de la même date.

Voici les paramètres qu'il donne pour le Soleil, la Lune et les planètes le 1^{er} mars 1376 à midi, pour Constantinople (long. 56°) ⁽⁷⁰⁾ comparés à ce donnent les tables de Chrysococcès ⁽⁷¹⁾ :

	<i>Laur.</i> 28/14 *	Chrysococcès *
Soleil : centre	257 ; 3, 23	id.
apogée	88 ; 27, 58	88 ; 27, 57
Lune : mvt moyen	99 ; 34, 22	id.
mvt propre	12 ; 14, 19	13 ; 14, 9
centre	239 ; 25, 11	239 ; 25, 1
Nœuds	310 ; 45, 45	310 ; 43, 45
Saturne : centre	73 ; 41, 55	id.
mvt propre	15 ; 50, 51	15 ; 57, 55
apogée	250 ; 57, 35	id.
Jupiter : centre	336 ; 31, 0	id.
mvt propre	179 ; 7, 0	179 ; 16, 30
apogée	179 ; 45, 0	id.

* Dans les manuscrits, les longitudes sont données comme dans les tables perses en signes, degrés, minutes... Pour la comparaison, je les donne ici en degrés, minutes, secondes.

(70) Sur l'erreur de longitude géographique, voir TIHON, *Traité astronomique chypriote*, I, p. 297.

(71) J'ai repris la comparaison à SERVAIS, p. 142ss.

	<i>Laur.</i> 28/14	Chrysococcès
Mars : centre	260 ; 36, 0	320 ; 36 ; 24 **
mvt propre	16 ; 50, 0	249 ; 54, 14 ***
apogée	136 ; 33, 0	id.
Vénus : centre	266 ; 29, 0	265 ; 47, 37
mvt propre	211 ; 31, 0	193 ; 0, 39
apogée	79 ; 44, 0	id.
Mercure : centre	128 ; 26, 0	130 ; 25, 48
mvt propre	260 ; 3	260 ; 11, 48
apogée	213 ; 7	213 ; 8

** La divergence peut s'expliquer par une erreur de graphie : confusion η (8 signes) / ι (10 signes).

*** De même confusion entre zéro (ϵ) et 8 (η).

Ces textes sont à mettre en relation avec les essais de tables B5. Rappelons aussi qu'Isaac Argyre (A2) affirme qu'il avait aussi établi des tables de planètes.

D. Pingree a proposé d'attribuer ces textes à Jean Abramios. Ce personnage est connu comme copiste de manuscrits et comme astrologue. Son activité de copiste apparaît notamment dans le *Marcianus gr.* V 13 (72), achevé le 18 septembre 1376, et dans le *Laurentianus* 28/16 (73) dont il a copié une partie en 1381/1382. Il était, semble-t-il, astrologue et amateur de sciences occultes. D. Pingree mentionne une condamnation datant de mai 1371 où il est question d'un certain Abramios auteur d'une lettre hostile à Jean V et de pratiques magiques (74). Là s'arrêtent les certitudes en ce qui concerne ce personnage. D. Pingree lui attribue la paternité d'horoscopes qui n'interviennent pas dans notre propos et en fait l'auteur des textes astronomiques que nous discutons ici.

Sur quoi repose cette attribution ?

Dans le *Laur.* 28/16, il y a une table d'étoiles (f. 275) (B9) en marge de laquelle se trouve une longue scolie expliquant une méthode de vérification analogue à celles du *Laur.* 28/14. L'identité de méthode et de style est telle que l'auteur de la scolie (B9) doit être aussi l'auteur du traité du *Laur.* 28/14 (B8). Il y a plusieurs autres scolies très personnelles qui semblent de la même main (75). Mais les paléographes ne sont pas d'accord sur l'identification de la main qui a écrit ces scolies. Selon Mercati (76), suivi par Pingree, il s'agit

(72) TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 241 -243.

(73) TURYN, *ibid.*, pp. 245 -248.

(74) PINGREE, *The Astrological School*, p. 192-193.

(75) PINGREE, *The Astrological School*, p. 199.

(76) MERCATI, *Scritti d'Isidoro*, p. 97, note 2.

de Jean Abramios. Selon A. Turyn⁽⁷⁷⁾ (et ma propre impression au vu du manuscrit) la main qui a écrit ces notes est différente de celle d'Abramios. Cependant je n'ai pas pu vérifier sur les originaux et, à ce stade, je préfère laisser la question en suspens.

Je crois qu'on peut attribuer au même auteur, quelle que soit son identité, un traité sur l'astrolabe armillaire où se lisent des remarques critiques sur Ptolémée analogues à celles qui figurent dans ces textes⁽⁷⁸⁾.

9. Catalogue d'étoiles corrigé pour l'année 1389

Ét. : PINGREE, *The Astrological School*, pp. 201 et 210.

Mss. : *Laur.* 28/16, f. 275 ; *Marc. gr.* 336, f. 130.

Il s'agit d'une table de trente étoiles brillantes⁽⁷⁹⁾, calculée pour l'année 1389 et contenue dans le *Laur.* 28/16, f. 275. Elle est accompagnée d'une scolie marginale expliquant comment l'auteur a corrigé les longitudes en utilisant la valeur perse pour la précession (1° en 66 ans) et comment il a vérifié cette valeur au moyen de l'astrolabe plan. D. Pingree pense que cette note est de la main d'Abramios⁽⁸⁰⁾. La même table, avec la même scolie, se trouve dans le *Marc. gr.* 336, f. 130 (malheureusement fort effacée).

10. Chapitres anonymes sur les tables perses, Rhodes ca 1393

Mém. : FONTAINE.

Début et fin mutilés.

Inc. ... μοίρας κδ, λεπτά πρώτα ν', δεύτερα νβ'' ταῦτα τῆς μέσης κινήσεως...

Chapitres anonymes sur l'astronomie perse conservés dans le *Leidensis* BPG 74E, ff. 86-93v. Exemples pour le 3 mars et le 19 mars 1393 à Rhodes.

11. Traité et tables astronomiques «proto-Pléthon», ca 1414

Éd. : à paraître dans *CAB*, par A. TIHON et R. MERCIER.

Mss. : *Urbinas* 80, ff. 25-28v (tables) ; *Marc. gr.* 336, ff. 322-327 (tables et fragment de traité) ; *Palat. gr.* 278, ff. 127-129 (texte incomplet) et ff. 135-141v (texte complet, sans tables).

Il s'agit de tables sans titre, sans nom d'auteur, bâties sur le même modèle que celles de Pléthon (A7), mais avec des paramètres différents. Selon l'analyse de R. Mercier, elles utilisent les valeurs du *Zîj-i Ilkhânî*, qui sont celles de

(77) Voir discussion dans TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, I, pp. 247-248, qui attribue au scribe B (différent d'Abramios) les scolies des ff. 123, 151, 153.

(78) Voir TIHON, *Traité byzantins de l'astrolabe* (à paraître).

(79) Cette table correspond au type III décrit par KUNITZSCH, *Finsternverzeichnis*, pp. 408-411.

(80) Voir à ce sujet les remarques à propos de B4.

la *Syntaxe perse* de Chrysococcès. Copiées par Jean Chortasmenos dans l'*Urbinas* 80, elles sont environnées de calculs effectués par ce dernier vers les années 1414, et pourraient donc dater de cette époque. Elles sont en tout cas antérieures à celles de Pléthon.

Les mêmes tables se trouvent dans le *Marc. gr.* 336 et sont accompagnées d'un mode d'emploi partiel. Le mode d'emploi complet, mais sans les tables, se trouve dans le *Palat. gr.* 278. Il n'y a pas de titre, l'*incipit* et le *desinit* sont identiques au traité de Pléthon (A7) et la dernière partie du traité est quasi mot à mot celui de Pléthon. Il pourrait s'agir d'un premier essai de Pléthon lui-même.

12. Éphémérides (ca 1454 ss)

Le *Vat. gr.* 1852 contient aux ff. 177ss des éphémérides pour les années 1456 (janvier à décembre), 1457, 1454, 1455. Plus loin de nombreux calculs de la main du cardinal Isidore de Russie, effectués à l'aide des tables perses, avec des prédictions d'éclipses (A12).

Je n'ai pas fait l'inventaire précis, mais voici quelques positions données par les éphémérides du f. 177 pour l'année 1456 :

1^{er} janvier :

Soleil : Capricorne 19 ; 56
 Lune : Balance 14 ; 57
 Saturne : Sagittaire 1 ; 45
 Jupiter : Gémeaux 17 ; 38
 Mars : Capricorne 3 ; 56
 Vénus : Verseau 16 ; 14
 Mercure : Verseau : 8 ; 57
 Nœud ascendant (?) : Balance 21 ; 28

1^{er} février :

Soleil : Verseau 21 ; 28
 Lune : Sagittaire 17 ; 17
 Saturne : Sagittaire 4 ; 3
 Jupiter : Gémeaux 16 ; 5
 Mars : Capricorne 27 ; 47
 Vénus : Verseau 3 ; 0
 Mercure : Verseau 0 ; 5
 Nœud ascendant (?) : Balance : 24 ; 30.

13. Texte anonyme sur les *Tables cycliques* de Bonjorn (cf. A10)

Mém. : SOLON , texte 5 , pp. 259-283.

Ms. : *Vat. gr.* 1879, ff. 239-247v

Tit. *Πρόχειρον ἀστρονομικὸν τὸ καλούμενον παρ' Ἰουδαίοις ἑξαπτέρυγον.*

Inc. *Πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀρχὴν...*

Des. ... *τόσον τὸν τῆς μονῆς χρόνον εἶναι ἀποφαινόμεθα.*

La référence à l' *Hexaptéryge* est une erreur.

14. Texte anonyme sur l' *Hexaptéryge* (sans date)

Mém. : SOLON, texte 2, pp. 114-149.

Inc. *Μῆνας κρατοῦσιν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι...*

Des. ... *καὶ ἀνὰ καθ' ἡμέρας ὡς εἴρηται.*

15. Texte anonyme sur l' *Hexaptéryge*, Crète (1467-1468)

Mém. : SOLON, texte 3, pp. 150-177.

Tit. *Περὶ τοῦ ἑξαπτερύγου ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ Μανουὴλ Ἰουδαῖος εἰς πόλιν τινὰ ὀνομαζομένην Κερασκόν.*

Inc. *Ἐν τῷ ,αυξζ μηνὶ μαρτίῳ...*

Des. ... *καὶ οὕτως ποιῆ πάντοτε.*

16. Des éphémérides anonymes pour 1481

Ms. : Paris. gr. 2180, ff. 100v-103v

Il s'agit d'un almanach à la manière de celui d'Azarquiel (al-Zarqâlî, XI^e s.). La date est indiquée f. 101 et f. 103v : 6989 = 1480/1.

* Cette étude a été entreprise à la demande du Professeur F. Tinnefeld pour le 6. Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes, «Mittelalter und Moderne», Bayreuth (März 1995) et les premières conclusions ont été présentées à cette occasion : j'en remercie vivement M^{me} U. Lindgren et M. F. Tinnefeld. Un résumé paraîtra dans les Actes de ce Symposium.

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NOTES

VERSES IN PRAISE OF LEO VI

Nineteenth century manuscripts are, as a rule, looked down upon. Codex *Athous*, *Panteleemon* 288, which contains a collection of thirty-four homilies plus the Funeral Oration of the emperor Leo VI (886-912), is not an exception, having escaped scholarly attention until now. At the beginning of the manuscript, one finds a short unpublished poem praising Leo VI as a homilist.

According to its two subscriptions, *Panteleemon* 288, a paper manuscript of two hundred and seventy pages (1), was written in 1845 by the deacon Amphilochios of Patmos (2). I have proved elsewhere that the codex is an apograph of a now lost Athonite manuscript of the homilies of Leo VI copied by the patriarch of Constantinople Gregory V, that is mentioned in the preface of the edition of the homilies of Leo by the hieromonk Akakios (3). Gregory must have produced his copy between 1798 and 1806 or 1808 and 1818, when he was on Mt. Athos in-between his three periods in office (4). His model was *Athous*, *Vatopedi* 408, a parchment manuscript of the tenth century and the most important witness to the work in question. The *Vatopedi* codex is mutilated at the beginning, but *Panteleemon* 288 preserves traces of the missing initial part of the *Vatopedinus*, thus constituting a valuable, albeit modern witness to the homilies of Leo (5).

(1) S. LAMBROS, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos*, II, Cambridge, 1900, p. 354, no. 5795. I should like to thank Dr. E. Litsas of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, Thessalonica, for photocopies of the manuscript, as well as Prof. C. Mango, Dr. J. Munitiz and Dr. L. Sherry for useful discussions.

(2) See p. 263 : ,αωμε Νοεμβρίου θ εΐληφε τέλος, and p. 264 : χείρ 'Αμφιλοχίου τοῦ ἐν ἱεροδιακόνοις ἐλαχίστου τοῦ Πατμίου.

(3) ΑΚΑΚΙΟΣ, *Λέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ πανυγηρικοῖ* (sic) *λόγοι*, Athens, 1868, p. ε'.

(4) J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Trois études sur Léon VI, I. L'homélie de Léon VI sur le sacre du patriarche Étienne*, in *TM*, 5 (1973), pp. 181-207.

(5) T. ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI. Prolegomena to a Critical Edition* (unpubl. diss.), Oxford, 1995, pp. 252-254.

The epigram is found on page 4, just after the initial index of the contents of the manuscript (pp. 2-3) and before the main text (pp. 5ff.). It is alone written in a neater hand than the rest of the manuscript, although it is not necessary to envisage a second scribe who would have only copied this short text. It is probable that the provenance of the epigram was the direct model of *Panteleemon* 288, i.e. Gregory's copy, and thus, indirectly, the tenth-century *Vatopedinus* before its mutilation. The epigram consists of eight Byzantine dodecasyllables which run as follows :

- Λόγος σὲ κοσμεῖ καὶ πλεῖον τῆς πορφύρας
 Λέων βασιλεῦ, ὁ παριστάνων λόγους.
 Ἡ πορφύρα γὰρ ἐκμαραίνεται χρόνῳ,
 Λόγος δ' ἀναπάλειπτος ἐς αἰὲ μένει.
 5 Ἡ πορφύρα κόσμημα σαρκὸς τῆς κάτω ·
 Ὁ δ' αὖ λόγος κόσμημα τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλλος.
 Τὴν πορφύραν γὰρ [ὁ] κόσμος ἐκθρὸς σεβύει,
 Ὁ νοῦς δ' ὁ θεῖος τοὺς λόγους ἐκβλαστάνει.

2 ἀπεριστάνων cod. 3 ἐκμαραίνει τῶ cod. 7 ἐκθροσεβύει (in marg. ἢ βίος) cod.

COMMENTARY

2 The word ἀπεριστάνων is unknown. The suggested emendation (ὁ παριστάνων) makes sense⁽⁶⁾, although it causes a metrical anomaly, i.e. the sixth syllable (ὁ) is short instead of long. The plural λόγους must refer to Leo VI's homilies which follow and are in this way introduced by the epigram. This interpretation is corroborated by the parallel use of the same word in verse 8. Moreover, the designation λόγοι for Leo's homilies occurs in the titles offered by the manuscript tradition (for example, by the *Vatopedinus*) as well as in Poem III, verse 30 on Leo's death⁽⁷⁾. The meaning of the first couplet is the following : "The speech, even more than the purple robe, adorns you, emperor Leo, you who offer speeches".

3 The emendation of the verb form is necessary, since ἐκμαραίνω is only attested as an active transitive verb. However, a metrical problem arises, the tenth syllable (-ται) now being short instead of long.

4 The prosodic problem (long ἐς) can be easily corrected if one reads εἰς. The correction, however, is not absolutely necessary given that minor

(6) For παρίστημι-παριστάνω = present, offer (especially to God), see G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, s.v.

(7) I. ŠEVČENKO, *Poems on the deaths of Leo VI and Constantine VII in the Madrid Manuscript of Scylitzes*, in *DOP*, 23-24 (1969-70), p. 202.

divergence from the classical norms was acceptable in the Byzantine dodecassyllable (8).

7 The reading of the manuscript presents two metrical problems : the verse has thirteen syllables, and the prosody of the second metre γὰρ ὁ κόσμος is wrong (× ∪ – ∪ instead of × – ∪ –). Both these problems are corrected if the article ὁ is eliminated. The marginal note probably gives an alternative reading for κόσμος. It might be an attempt by the copyist to remedy the number of syllables of the verse through a synaeresis, the word βίος being read as one syllable.

The word ἐκθροσεβύει is unattested and unintelligible. Nevertheless, in the Lexicon of Hesychius one finds the following entry : σῶν · σῶαν. ἡ βλάστησις, ἀπὸ τοῦ σε[β]ύεσθαι (9). This is the only attestation of the form σεβύεσθαι (instead of σεύεσθαι), which fits well verse 7 and gives a parallel to ἐκβλαστάνει of verse 8. The first syllable of the verb remains, however, long. I have retained the spelling ἐκθρός instead of ἐχθρός, because it is attested (10). The expression κόσμος ἐκθρός was probably inspired by the clause οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ἡ φιλία τοῦ κόσμου ἔχθρα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν of the Epistle of James (11). However, the anonymous poet inverted the meaning of the New Testament passage and assumed that whoever is a friend of God is an enemy of the world. As for the adjectival use of ἐχθρός, it occurs in Gregory of Nazianzus : σὰρξ ἐχθρὴ φιλή τε (12). The meaning of verse 7 is, therefore, the following : “Because the hostile world creates the purple robe, whereas the divine mind causes the speeches to grow”.

The epigram is structured in four couplets which evolve around two themes : πορφύρα and λόγος. Both themes are announced in verse 1, while verse 2 reveals the imperial addressee of the epigram ; it also contains (λόγους) or implies (βασιλεῦ) the main themes. Πορφύρα, subsequently, occurs in verses 3, 5, 7, and λόγος in 4, 6, 8. These two themes are inter-related with those of corruption (v. 3, 5, 7) and incorruption (v. 4, 6, 8) respectively. The epigram should be added to the several known poems which are dedicated to Leo VI

(8) See P. MAAS, *Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber*, in *BZ*, 12 (1903), pp. 321-322.

(9) M. SCHMIDT, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, III, Halle, 1862 ; repr. Amsterdam, 1965, p. 121, entry 3076 ; the β of σεβύεσθαι should not be erased.

(10) It occurs in HERODIANUS'S *Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας*, see A. LENTZ, *Grammatici graeci*, III.2, Leipzig, 1870 ; repr. Hildesheim, 1965, p. 409, 8-9 : οἱ δὲ διὰ τοῦ κ γράφοντές φασιν εἶναι ἐκθρός ὁ ἔξω τεθορηκώς ; also in the papyrus of Didymus the Blind's Commentary on the Psalms, ff. 77, 4-6 ; 78, 9 ; 105, 4-5, see M. GRONWALD, *Didymus der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, II, Bonn, 1968, pp. 86, 92 and 210.

(11) 4, 4.

(12) *Carminum de se ipso*, no. 46, *PG*, 37, col. 1378, 8.

and reveal the admiration which this emperor inspired in his contemporaries (13).

It is interesting to note that verses praising Leo VI were composed as late as 1600. At the end of Jacob Gretser's edition of works of Gregory of Nyssa and nine homilies of Leo VI, a two-page note "Ad lectorem de Gregorio Nysseno" is followed by a two-page poem in Latin under the heading: "In Nysseni et Leonis editionem carmen Philippi Menzelii, P.L. Medicinae doctoris et professoris ordinarii in Academia Ingolstadiensis" (14). The poem consists of 45 verses, of which 31-36 praise Leo's homiletic production. For the sake of *curiositas*, I shall conclude with this text:

*Gregorio interea comes it Leo, nobilis ille
Fascibus imperii, summoque augustus honore :
Verum aetate minor : cuius facundia Christo
Servit, et illius vitam se fundit in omnem
Lacte, ac melle fluens : tum coeli deinde Quirites
Prosequitur plausu emeritos, et laudibus effert.*

Dumbarton Oaks.

Theodora ANTONOPOULOU.

(13) These poems have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, see ŠEVČENKO, *Poems* [see n. 7 above], pp. 185-228; P. ODORICO, *Il calamo d'argento. Un carme inedito in onore di Romano II (con una tavola)*, in *JÖB*, 37 (1987), pp. 69-70 with previous bibliography; P. MAGDALINO, *The bath of Leo the Wise and the 'Macedonian Renaissance' revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial, Ideology*, in *DOP*, 42 (1988), pp. 97-118, esp. pp. 98-99; A. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, 'Αποσημειώσεις στον Λέοντα ΣΤ' τον Σοφό, 1. Λέων ΣΤ' και Ξενοφών, in *ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ στή μνήμη τῆς Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα*, Athens, 1994, pp. 193-198; *Ιδ.*, 'Επίγραμμα πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ Λέοντος ΣΤ' τοῦ Σοφοῦ, in *Μνήμη Δ. Α. Ζακυθηνοῦ (Σύμμεικτα, 9)*, Athens, 1994, II, pp. 33-40.

(14) J. GRETSER, *D. Gregorii episcopi Nysseni commentarius duplex in psalmorum inscriptiones nunc primum graece et latine ex Bavarica Bibliotheca in lucem depromptus. Accesserunt ex eadem Bibliotheca novem orationes sacrae Leonis Imperatoris hactenus ineditae*, Ingolstadt, 1600, no p.

INFORMATIONS

VII^e SYMPOSION BYZANTINON

Depuis 1968, l'Institut d'Histoire médiévale (Institut Marc Bloch), en collaboration avec le Département d'Études néo-helléniques de l'Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg organise tous les cinq ans un *Symposion Byzantinon*. La publication des Actes des divers colloques antérieurs a toujours été assurée par l'éditeur A. Hakkert, dans la série des *Byzantinische Forschungen*.

Le prochain Symposion, prévu à l'automne 1997, portera sur le thème : **Byzance et l'Asie.**

Les byzantinistes intéressés par ce thème peuvent se faire connaître jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1996 en s'adressant à l'une des trois personnes ci-dessous :

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L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES ÉTUDES ARMÉNIENNES

nous a prié d'annoncer sa **VIII^e Conférence** qui aura lieu du 4 au 7 septembre 1996, à l'Institut Orientaliste de l'Université Catholique de Louvain à Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgique).

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CORRIGENDA

Byzantion, tome LXV, fascicule 2 (1995) :

p. 529,	ligne	4	au lieu de	<i>intelligentia</i>	lire	<i>intelligentsia</i>
p. 530,	"	7	"	"	"	<i>philosophie</i> " <i>philosophe</i>
"	"	12	"	"	"	<i>irrévoccable</i> " <i>irrévocable</i>
"	"	27	"	"	"	<i>répondait</i> " <i>répoudaient</i>
p. 531,	"	17	"	"	"	<i>philosophie</i> " <i>philosophe</i>
"	"	18	"	"	"	<i>précher</i> " <i>prêcher</i>

COMPTES RENDUS

JAVIER TEIXIDOR, *Bardesane d'Édesse : la première philosophie syriaque*, Paris, Cerf, 1992 (*Patrimoines, christianisme*), 159 pages, 235 × 145 mm. Prix : 150 FF.

Parmi les figures qui ont marqué la littérature syriaque, Bardesane occupe une place à part, conforme à l'indépendance d'esprit qui le caractérisait et qui le conduisit, selon la tradition, de la conversion au christianisme par l'évêque d'Édesse Hystaspe à l'exclusion de la Grande Église par le successeur de celui-ci. De ce penseur et écrivain fécond (né en 154 en mort en 222), nous n'avons qu'une connaissance reposant sur des sources indirectes ; heureusement celles-ci ne sont pas unilatérales et permettent une certaine étude critique. Il s'agit, d'une part, des hymnes et traités en prose qu'Éphrem a composés pour le combattre — regrettons au passage la dureté des mots que l'auteur emploie quand il parle de la théologie de l'adversaire de Bardesane : qualifier celle-ci d'intellectuellement pauvre et de causerie pieuse est un excès que partageront sans doute bien peu de patrologues — et, d'autre part, d'un dialogue qui met en scène Bardesane et ses disciples, mis par écrit par un de ceux-ci, un certain Philippe. Sa cosmologie nous est connue de façon plus systématique par des auteurs syriaques bien postérieurs, Barhadbeshabba Arbaya (VI^e-VII^e s.) et Moïse Bar Képha (IX^e s.). Auteur de dialogues contre les marcionites et les hérétiques, d'ouvrages apologétiques et d'un traité d'astronomie perdus, Bardesane est aussi l'initiateur de la poésie syriaque dans un recueil de 150 hymnes, dont seules quelques citations ont survécu chez Éphrem.

C'est donc une personnalité riche et intéressante qui est l'objet de cette monographie. Mais le contenu de celle-ci est bien plus riche que ne le laisse deviner son titre puisque Bardesane n'est le sujet que du troisième chapitre. Le premier traite de l'histoire de l'écriture syriaque et du rôle des archives au Proche-Orient — celles d'Édesse sont bien attestées, notamment dans les sources hagiographiques. Le deuxième chapitre est consacré à l'Édesse des premiers siècles : la ville païenne d'abord, à travers des inscriptions d'époque et des sources littéraires postérieures ; ensuite la ville convertie au christianisme à travers une étude critique des sources (parmi lesquelles la Doctrine d'Addaï et la Chronique anonyme d'Édesse composée au VI^e s., publiée par I. Guidi

dans le premier volume du *CSCO*) ; ce chapitre étudie aussi les hérésies de Paul de Samosate, des judéo-chrétiens et de Marcion. Le quatrième chapitre traite de la pénétration de la philosophie grecque dans le monde syriaque en s'intéressant particulièrement à l'histoire de l'École d'Édesse et à la traduction des textes philosophiques grecs en syriaque. Le lecteur trouvera donc dans ce livre bien plus qu'une étude sur Bardesane : des jalons pour une histoire de la pensée philosophique et religieuse dans le monde syriaque et les relations de celui-ci avec le monde grec.

Claude DETIENNE.

Albrecht BERGER, *Leontios Presbyteros von Rom. Das Leben des Heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent. Kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1994 (*Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten*, 60), 1 vol. in-8°, 425 pages. ISBN 3-05-002753-3. Prix : DM 180.

Après la remarquable publication par Rudolf Riedinger des Actes du concile de Latran de 649 (voir *Byz.*, 55, 1985, pp. 596-597), voici l'édition critique d'un autre texte grec composé à Rome dans le haut Moyen Âge. *La Vie en question* (*BHG*, 707) est un long roman hagiographique qui brode, sans se soucier de la cohérence chronologique, sur un noyau historique consistant dans le procès à Rome d'un évêque Grégoire d'Agrigente à l'époque du pape Grégoire le Grand (590-604). Selon son titre, elle a pour auteur un certain Léonce, prêtre et higoumène de Saint-Saba. Il ne fait, en tout cas, aucun doute qu'elle a été composée à Rome, au tournant du VIII^e et du IX^e s., par un moine originaire de Sicile. Elle ne constitue pas un plaidoyer en faveur de la primauté romaine comme le pensait Évelyne Patlagean. Mais A. Berger s'accorde avec l'historienne française pour noter qu'alors que Rome s'était séparée de l'Empire byzantin, l'idéal politique de l'auteur reste celui d'une harmonie entre l'empereur à Constantinople et le pontife à Rome, même si la présentation du pape anonyme s'avère quelque peu ambivalente.

La substantielle introduction envisage de façon exhaustive tous les aspects de l'œuvre comme témoignage historique et littéraire. Elle se recommande par sa rigueur, le sens des nuances, le souci constant d'intégrer les diverses données dans leur contexte et la maîtrise de la bibliographie. — En ce qui concerne l'attitude de l'Église romaine à l'égard des images, il aurait toutefois fallu tenir compte de l'article fondamental d'A. Freeman, *Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the Libri Carolini*, dans *Viator*, 16 (1985), pp. 65-108. La politique de la papauté en la matière fut bien moins « faible » que ne l'affirme A. Berger, p. 44. — Relevons une véritable découverte : selon une interprétation séduisante proposée pp. 41-43, l'hagiographe connaissait la Donation de Constantin. Il prend vraisemblablement position à son égard

en racontant que Grégoire reçut du pape la moitié d'Agrigente et de l'empereur l'autre moitié.

L'édition, reposant sur vingt-quatre manuscrits, se révèle en tous points exemplaire. Accompagnée d'une excellente traduction, d'un commentaire d'une grande richesse et de plusieurs *indices*, elle fera beaucoup mieux connaître une des rares œuvres grecques de Rome qui nous soient parvenues. On espère que l'autre grand roman hagiographique composé dans la Ville, la Vie de Grigentios (*BHG*, 705), fasse un jour l'objet d'une publication de cette qualité.

Jean-Marie SANSTERRE.

Th. DETORAKIS, *Βυζαντινή φιλολογία. Τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τὰ κείμενα*, I^{er} vol. : *Προβυζαντινοὶ καὶ Πρωτοβυζαντινοὶ χρόνοι* (περ. 150-527 μ.Χ.), Héraclion, Detorakis, 1995, 574 pages. ISBN 960-90199-1-9.

Comme l'A. le signale, l'ampleur de la bibliographie byzantine est à ce moment telle que personne ne peut tout suivre. Il en va de même pour la production littéraire byzantine : il est pratiquement impossible de se retrouver dans un océan d'éditions, de publications, de livres, d'articles et de revues. En outre, les ouvrages qui traitent la question de la production littéraire byzantine, ne considèrent habituellement qu'un aspect de cette production. L'école allemande a introduit la distinction entre la littérature profane et religieuse comme d'ailleurs entre la production littéraire savante et populaire. Cette publication vise à combler le vide. Partant de la période encore pré-byzantine (de c. 150 à c. 330 après J.-C.), sans tenir compte de l'orientation et du contenu des œuvres, l'ouvrage a pour but de voir l'ensemble de la production littéraire byzantine, en suivant un ordre seulement chronologique. Pour chaque auteur, est donnée une brève biographie assortie d'une bibliographie aussi complète que possible ; sont publiés ensuite des extraits de ses écrits suivis des commentaires philologiques ou bibliographiques. Les index rendent la consultation du volume facile.

Le premier volume, qui couvre quatre siècles (c. 150 à 527), est précédé d'une *Introduction* (pp. 29-38), qui envisage très brièvement les périodes byzantines et essaye de dégager leurs caractéristiques. Une attention particulière est prêtée aux caractéristiques de la période qui fait l'objet de ce premier volume. Dans celui-ci sont repris 87 auteurs éponymes ou anonymes. L'A. promet deux autres volumes encore plus garnis.

L'A. est un spécialiste qui fait autorité dans le domaine de la philologie et de la littérature byzantines. Il est hors doute que les byzantinistes apprécieront cette publication à sa juste valeur. Ils y trouveront la solution de plusieurs problèmes, mais surtout ils auront à leur disposition l'ensemble de la production littéraire byzantine.

Fatalement, un livre qui se donne pour objectif un domaine du savoir aussi vaste que diversifié, risque de ne pas répondre aux exigences spécifiques de chacune des branches de la byzantinologie. Les spécialistes de la littérature rhétorique par exemple ne doivent pas chercher dans ce livre des réponses aux questions auxquelles même les spécialistes n'ont pas pu répondre. Toutefois, il nous semble qu'une deuxième introduction consacrée aux genres littéraires s'avère indispensable. Car l'A. doit, malgré son affirmation, finalement accepter des divisions autres que chronologiques. Dans ce volume, par exemple, il traite à part les auteurs païens (pp. 123-192). Il doit en outre adopter la solution d'un *Appendice* (pp. 193-210) pour y ranger certains écrits difficiles à classer. Deux pages de cet appendice (pp. 196-198) sont consacrées au *roman byzantin*, en guise d'introduction aux romanciers de la période pré-byzantine. Une telle introduction nous paraît indispensable pour les autres genres littéraires.

Il reste la question de la langue utilisée par les écrivains byzantins. Dans ce volume, l'A. ne s'en occupe pas. En parcourant la publication nous avons constaté que la production littéraire rédigée en latin n'est pas mentionnée. La langue grecque utilisée par les écrivains byzantins ne fait pas non plus l'objet d'une analyse particulière. Certes, pour chaque écrivain, l'A. donne des informations concernant sa langue et en outre, par ses commentaires philologiques, répond à plusieurs questions d'ordre linguistique. Nous espérons pourtant qu'à la fin du troisième volume figurera une conclusion envisageant la question de l'évolution du grec «commun» (*κοινή*) vers le grec tardif, voire même moderne. L'A. est parmi les plus compétents pour parler de cette évolution.

Pour terminer et en attendant les volumes suivants, nous nous félicitons de ce livre que plusieurs parmi nous avons espéré depuis longtemps.

P. A. YANNOPOULOS.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica. Speculum Regis, Szeged, 26 (1994), 83 pages + 5 planches hors texte. ISBN 963-482-045-X.

Trois articles de cette revue présentent de l'intérêt pour les byzantinistes : celui de T. ADAMIK, *The Figure of Julian in Ammianus' History* (pp. 31-36), celui d'I. ΚΑΡΙΤΑΝΦΥ, *Justinian and Agapetus* (pp. 65-70) et celui de Z. KÁDÁR, *MIMHΣΙΣ DEL CRISTO-RE : I simboli delle virtù sulla corona di Costantino IX Monomaco in aspetto dei testi biblici* (pp. 77-83). Le premier pense qu'Ammien s'était inspiré de modèles littéraires latins décrivant Julien. Le deuxième place la rédaction de l'Exposé par Agapète durant les premières années du règne de Justinien, même avant les campagnes africaine et italienne. Le troisième analyse une fois encore l'iconographie de la couronne impériale du Musée National de Budapest et localise les textes bibliques dont cette iconographie est inspirée.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐρεῦνης τῆς Ἱστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Δικαίου, 31 (1995), XLVI + 248 pages.

Parmi les articles de ce volume, celui de D. SIMON, *Gesetzgebung als Weltordnung und Rechtsordnung. Die Auffassungen der byzantinischen Kaiser von Justinian I. bis zu Leon VI. vom Zweck der Gesetze*, pp. 23-50, intéresse les byzantinistes. Cette étude très intéressante retrace l'histoire de la promulgation des lois à Byzance entre le VIe et le IXe siècles. Les introductions des lois constituent la matière de base d'une telle étude.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

BOYKOΛEIA. Mélanges offerts à Bertrand BOUVIER, Genève, Belles-Lettres, 1995, 474 pages.

Un excellent volume dont les articles couvrent la totalité du monde grec, vu que le Professeur B. Bouvier était un helléniste au sens large du terme. Pour les byzantinistes, signalons les articles de A.-L. REY, *Remarques sur la forme et l'utilisation de passages dialogués entre chrétiens et musulmans dans le corpus de saint Jean Damascène* (pp. 69-83), qui pense que Jean

Damascène a voulu par son Dialogue mettre les Chrétiens au courant de l'avancement de la théologie musulmane. A. HURST, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze à propos de lui-même* (pp. 85-90), note que l'autobiographie de S. Grégoire, à part sa valeur littéraire et son importance biographique, témoigne aussi la fusion en lui des deux cultures : chrétienne et païenne. F. BOVON, *De saint Luc à saint Thomas en passant par saint Cyrille* (pp. 93-102), constate que la *Catena aurea* de S. Thomas d'Aquin présuppose la connaissance du *Commentaire de Luc de Cyrille d'Alexandrie*. P. YANNOPOULOS, *Les éléments latins dans la Chronique de Théophane* (pp. 103-122), revoit la totalité des termes d'étymologie latine dans Théophane pour constater que certains sont translittérés, d'autres adaptés tandis que d'autres appartiennent au métalangage. Ils témoignent l'abandon du latin comme langue vivante dans la partie orientale de l'empire, dès le VI^e s., mais aussi l'apparition en grec tardif des mots dont l'étymologie lointaine est latine. A. ARGYRIOU, *Les Byzantins émigrés en Europe à l'époque de la Renaissance et leur contribution à la découverte par l'Occident des docteurs de l'Église grecque* (pp. 123-136), étudie certains cas de Byzantins célèbres qui avaient participé activement à la renaissance intellectuelle de l'Occident, surtout en enseignant le grec parmi les humanistes. Chrysa MALTEZOU, *Ἑλληνες και Λατίνοι : Η εικόνα του άλλου στον πρώτο αιώνα φραγκικής κυριαρχίας στην Κύπρο* (pp. 181-190), signale que les relations difficiles entre autochtones et Croisés à Chypre a laissé des traces linguistiques. Les Latins appelaient le Cypriotes *Griffones* tandis que ceux-ci considéraient les latins comme ennemis. La situation a changé plus tard. Stella FRIGERIO-ZENIOU, *Μονή των Φορβίων à Asinou de Chypre* (pp. 191-199) donne des informations intéressantes au sujet du monastère en question, dont la fondation remonte au début du XII^e s.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Classica et Mediaevalia. Revue danoise de Philologie et d'histoire, 45 (1994), 286 pages.

Parmi les articles de ce volume signalons celui de Čelica MILOVANOVIČ-BARHAM, *Three Levels of Style in Gregory of Nazianzus : The Case of Oration 43* (pp. 193-210), qui reconnaît trois niveaux stylistique chez S. Grégoire et pour qui la composition du discours et la manière rhétorique sont différentes selon le niveau stylistique. Psellos, qui avait étudié Grégoire, a essayé d'imiter son écriture et ses niveaux stylistiques. D. WOODS, *The Baptism of the Emperor Valens* (pp. 220-221), est d'avis que le baptême de Valens doit être considéré comme un acte politique et mis en relation avec la guerre contre les Goths. De ce fait, la date traditionnellement admise (c. 366) doit être revue. O. L. SMITH, *The Development of Demetrius Triclinius' Script Style : Remarks on Some Criteria* (pp. 239-250), compare le style de Démétrios Triclinios avec celui de Metochitès et conclut qu'il s'agit des formes typiques de la période paléo-

logue. Sophia GEORGACOPOULOU, *L'Achilléide de Stace et l'Achilléide Anonyme byzantine* (pp. 251-286), analyse deux biographies poétiques d'Achille : une du ^{xiv}^e s. (celle de Stace) et une anonyme et difficile à dater. Cette deuxième conserve pourtant un peu plus d'éléments classiques que celle de Stace.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 48 (1994), 286 pages.

Dans ce numéro, C. Foss, *The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age* (pp. 1-52 + 2 cartes + 46 ill.), passe en revue les données textuelles et archéologiques d'une section de la côte lycienne, une des plus intéressantes et des plus prospères de l'empire byzantin. Sont ensuite étudiées, l'une après l'autre, les villes de la région : Telmessos, Xanthos, Patara, Phaselis, Aperlae, Myra, Cyanaeae, Limyra. T. E. A. DALE, *Inventing a Sacred Past : Pictorial Narratives of St. Mark the Evangelist in Aquileia and Venice, ca. 1000-1300* (pp. 53-104 + 6 plans + 50 ill.), note que selon la tradition, S. Marc l'Évangéliste et son disciple Hermagoras ont christianisé le nord de l'Italie. Hermagoras y a été installé comme premier évêque d'Aquilée. Le centre ecclésiastique de la région était Apse où se trouvait aussi la basilique patriarcale. Au début du ^x^e s., le centre se déplaça vers Venise et sa grande cathédrale de S. Marc, dont l'A. étudie l'iconographie et expose l'histoire jusqu'à la fin du ^{xiv}^e s. H. MAGUIRE, *Epigrams, Art and the "Macedonian Renaissance"* (pp. 105-115 + 15 ill.), partant d'un poème de Jean le Géomètre et d'une épigramme du même auteur, cherche les souvenirs classiques de la renaissance macédonienne. W. HÖRANDNER, *A Cycle of Epigrams on the Lord's Feasts in Cod. Marc. Gr. 524* (pp. 117-133), publie, traduit en anglais et commente 21 épigrammes, en grande partie inédites. Elles sont contenues dans un manuscrit de l'extrême fin du ^{xii}^e s. : le *Marc. gr. 524*. Alice-Mary TALBOT, *Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art* (pp. 135-165 + 5 ill.), étudie un groupe d'épigrammes attribuées à Manuel Philès, mais dont certaines ne sont pas de lui. Ces épigrammes ont tantôt un caractère purement pieux, tantôt hagiographique et tantôt descriptif des peintures de l'église de la Ste-Vierge à Pégée. J. ALCHERMES, *Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire : Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse* (pp. 167-178), examine dans quelle mesure la destination d'un bâtiment administratif influençait son architecture et analyse la législation qui s'y réfère. A. ALEXAKIS, *A Florilegium in the Life of Nicetas of Medicion and a Letter of Theodore of Studios* (pp. 179-197), en cherchant les sources d'inspiration du florilège iconophile du ^{ix}^e s. de Nicéas de Médicion, édite une collection iconophile que Nicéas a compilée. En outre, il pense identifier Nicéas de Médicion dans une lettre de Théodore Studite qui parle d'un moine nommé Nicéas. Selon J. C. ANDERSON, *The Palimpsest Psalter, Pantokrator Cod. 61 : Its Content and Relationship to the Bristol Psalter* (pp. 199-220 + 16 ill.), les deux manuscrits qui font l'objet

de sa recherche ont plusieurs points en commun qui permettent de dire que le manuscrit de Bristol est du XI^e s. J. COTSONIS, *The Virgin with the "Tongues of Fire" on Byzantine Lead Seals* (pp. 221-227+ 16 ill.), étudie un type iconographique de la Vierge, utilisé sur les monnaies ou sur les sceaux byzantins : celui qui inclut le personnage dans un cercle. Il pense qu'il s'agit du type, utilisé aussi dans les manuscrits, de la Vierge «langue de feu». Cette représentation est habituellement réservée au St. Esprit, mais aussi à la Vierge. E. J. W. HAWKINS et LIZ JAMES, *The East Dome of San Marco, Venice : A Reconsideration* (pp. 229-242 + 16 ill.), font une analyse très poussée de la mosaïque qui couvre la coupole en question, qui permet de déterminer les deux phases de sa construction : une vers la fin du XII^e s. et une plus tardive. E. TRAPP, *Lexicographical Notes, Illustrating Continuity and Change in Medieval Greek* (pp. 243-255), examine l'évolution d'un certain nombre de termes, pris au hasard (?), qui selon lui prouve que le grec durant la période byzantine tantôt a évolué, tantôt est resté immobile. D. J. STANLEY, *New Discoveries at Santa Constanza* (pp. 257-261 + 17 ill.) et S. E. SIDEBOTHAM, *University of Delaware Fieldwork in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, 1993* (pp. 263-275 + 23 ill.), exposent les résultats très intéressants de fouilles à Rome et en Égypte, tandis que R. MARK et A. ÇAKMAK, *Mechanical Tests of Material from the Hagia Sophia Dome* (pp. 277-278 + 3 ill.), donnent les résultats d'une analyse des matériels de construction de la coupole de Ste-Sophie, datant de 558-563.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος, nouvelle série 5, vol. 76, Alexandrie et Johannesburg, 1994, vi + 225 pages. ISSN 1018-9556.

Parmi les articles contenus dans ce numéro, celui de Corinna MATZUKIS, *Fusion of the Paleologan and Italian Renaissance in the Fifteenth/Sixteenth Centuries* (pp. 48-57), traite la question de la transmission de la culture byzantine en Italie par les savants Byzantins qui ont fui Constantinople après la conquête musulmane. L'article de J. BARKHUIZEN, *Lazarus in the Tomb — and the "Topos" of the "lament of Hades"* (pp. 83-105), examine la production littéraire byzantine autour de la mort et la résurrection de Lazare. Le même thème fait l'objet d'un autre article du même auteur : *The Reconstitution and Reanimation of Lazarus in the Preaching of the Early Church* (pp. 109-124). Signalons encore l'étude de B. HENDRICKX, *Le procès de Marguerite de Passavant : une révision* (pp. 136-151), qui revoit les sources concernant le procès de Marguerite de Passavant dans la Morée franque, qui a eu lieu entre 1262 et 1278 ; il est impossible de savoir ce qui est historique et ce qui est légendaire dans cette affaire. S. MOUZAKIS, *Η άθληση της οσίας Θεοδούλης. Παρατηρήσεις σε μια ανέκδοτη παραλλαγή από κώδικα της Βιβλιοθήκης της Βουλής* (pp. 152-162), édite une nouvelle version de la vie de Ste Théodule,

contenue dans un manuscrit de 1596, et W. J. HENDERSON, *Enarratio of Prudentius, "Peristephanon 9"*, (pp. 163-174), fait une analyse philologique de la production poétique de Prudence.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Erytheia. Revista de estudios bizantinos y neogriegos, 16 (1995), 232 pages.

Parmi les articles de la revue celui de Mercedes LÓPEZ SALVÁ, *La Iglesia y las mujeres (siglos I-IV)* (pp. 7-28), aboutit à la conclusion que le christianisme non seulement n'a pas amélioré la condition féminine, mais il a encore introduit la notion de la femme responsable du péché originel. J. SIMÓN PALMER, *La aretología cristiana en la Vida de Simeón el Loco, de Leoncio de Neápolis* (pp. 29-38), signale que l'hagiographie byzantine met l'accent sur les saints imitateurs du Christ, qui à travers eux réalise les miracles. S. SZNOL, *El vocabulario griego de la inscripción de Rêhwb* (pp. 39-61), présente et analyse une inscription grecque byzantine trouvée en Palestine. Elle contient une liste de six fruits et une autre de onze localités. A. KAZHDAN, *El mundo vegetal en la Historia de Nicetas Coniates* (pp. 63-72), fait un relevé systématique de termes végétaux dans Choniatès pour examiner leur origine étymologique et les comparer avec ceux d'autres auteurs. A. ALEXAKIS, *A Ninth-Century Attestation of the Neighbors' Right of Pre-Emption in Byzantine Bithynia* (pp. 73-79), signale que la législation macédonienne en matière de taxation n'est pas toujours originale. Il étudie alors le cas d'une loi du ^ve s., remise en application au ^{ix}e s., et met en question l'affirmation de la réapparition généralisée des grands latifundia. L. MAVROMMATIS, *Aspects idéologiques de la paix et de l'ordre en Rômania (xii^e-xv^e s.)* (pp. 81-84), conclut qu'à partir du ^{xii}e s. les Byzantins en disant «paix», pensaient à «liberté et tranquillité». I. N. LIUBARSKI, *Miguel Ataliates y Miguel Pselo* (pp. 85-95), comparant les oeuvres historiques de deux auteurs trouve qu'elles sont très différentes ; celle d'Ataliatès étant beaucoup plus importante.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Fourth International Congress on Graeco-oriental and Graeco-african Studies (= *Graeco-Arabica*, n° 5, Athènes, 1993), 383 pages.

Ce volume s'adresse surtout aux orientalistes. Toutefois, certaines communications sont intéressantes pour les byzantinistes. Signalons celle de V. CHRISTIDES, *Raid and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Treatise by Muhammad bn. 'Umar, the Faqih from Occupied Moslem Crete, and the Rhodian Sea Law, Two Parallel Texts* (pp. 63-102 + 11 ill.), étudie les relations difficiles par mer entre Byzance et les Arabes, pour aboutir à la conclusion que ces derniers n'étaient pas toujours des pirates, comme les sources byzantines les présentent, mais aussi des marchands. A. CAMERON, *The Byzantine*

Reconquest of N. Africa and the Impact of Greek Culture (pp. 153-165), signale la division culturelle qui régnait en Afrique byzantine après la disparition de l'État vandale et avant la conquête arabe ; la pénétration de la culture grecque y était peu importante. M. M. MAZZAOUI, *The Conquest of Alexandria According to the Early Arab Historians : A Critical Appraisal* (pp. 167-176), constate que selon les sources arabes, la conquête de l'Égypte, et en général la première expansion arabe, est attribuée beaucoup plus aux capacités des chefs arabes, qu'à la composition sociale de l'Égypte où les Byzantins sont restés des étrangers. C. E. BOSWORTH, *Abû 'Amr 'Uthmân Al-Tarsûsî's Siyar al-Thughûr and the Last Years of Arab Rule in Tarsus* (pp. 183-195), étudie, à partir des sources arabes, la prise de la ville de Tarse par les Byzantins au ^x^e s. D. LETSIOS, *The Ethiopian Threat as Recorded in Priscus' Fragment Nr. 6* (pp. 197-206), dit que les «Éthiopes» du fragment en question de Priscus sont des tribus soudanaises. C. VERLINDEN, *Guerre et traite comme sources de l'esclavage dans l'empire byzantin aux IX^{ème} et X^{ème} siècles* (pp. 207-212), répète que la guerre était la source principale pour s'approvisionner en esclaves aussi bien à Byzance qu'ailleurs. Niki A. KOUTRAKOU, *The Image of the Arabs in Middle-Byzantine Politics. A Study in the Enemy Principle (8th-10th Centuries)* (pp. 213-224), après une étude systématique des sources byzantines, constate la présence d'une image-type de l'Arabe dans la littérature byzantine qui reflète sans doute l'opinion que les Byzantins avaient des Arabes. Cette image est très négative. Katerina KARAPLI, *Speeches of Arab Leaders to their Warriors According to Byzantine Texts* (pp. 233-242), analyse la manière dont les auteurs byzantins ont transcrit ou traduit l'arabe. S. APOSTOLOPOULOU, *Σχετικά με την καινούργια έκδοση του μαρτυρίου του αγίου Αρέθα* (pp. 303-313), fait certaines remarques historiques concernant la Vie de S. Arethas, qui se déroule en partie dans la capitale de l'Éthiopie au ^{vi}^e s. M. RODZIEWICZ, *Remarks on Kom el Demas in Alexandria* (pp. 315-319 + une carte), essaye de localiser le monastère byzantin des Ss. Côme et Damien. Marguerite RASSART-DEBERGH, *Alexandrie et la peinture chrétienne d'Égypte* (pp. 321-328), pense qu'il y avait une école picturale égyptienne, dont Alexandrie était le centre.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Giornate di studio sull'opera di BRUNO LAVAGNINI, Palermo, 7-8 maggio 1993. Atti, éd. par G. D'IPPOLITO, S. NICOSIA et V. ROTOLO, Palermo, L'epos società editrice, 1995, 140 pages.

Dans ce volume d'hommage à B. Lavagnini, M. GIGANTE, *Bruno Lavagnini nella storia degli studi bizantini* (pp. 63-77), fait un relevé bibliographique des publications du grand helléniste italien qui concernent les études byzantines. Certaines de ces publications, ont paru dans des revues d'une diffusion réduite, et de ce fait elles sont peu connues.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

A. LAZAROU, *Valaques de Grèce et Union Européenne*, Athènes, Société Littéraire Parnasse, 1995, 47 pages. ISBN 960-85212-3-8.

Ce livre s'adresse sans doute aux décideurs politiques, mais il n'est pas dépourvu d'intérêt historique. Il signale que la petite minorité latinophone qui existe encore dans la Grèce centrale n'a rien à faire avec la nation roumaine ; elle est signalée depuis le VI^es s. par Jean le Lydien. Elle parlait un latin altéré, idiome qu'elle a gardé jusqu'à nos jours.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Law and Society in Byzantium : Ninth-Twelfth Centuries, éd. Angeliki LAIOU et D. SIMON, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994, ix + 267 pages. ISBN 0-88402-222-6.

Ce volume, comme l'expliquent les éditeurs dans la Préface, constitue les Actes d'un symposium, qui a eu lieu à Dumbarton Oaks, en 1992. D. SIMON, *Legislation as Both a World Order and a Legal Order* (pp. 1-25), note que jusqu'au VII^e s., l'empereur constituait la source unique du droit ; il légiférait en tenant compte du fait que tous les pouvoirs se réunissaient en sa personne. Sous les Isauriens, il y a une première tentative de distinguer entre le pouvoir législatif et le pouvoir exécutif. Sous les Macédoniens, la source du droit est Dieu ; l'empereur est son intermédiaire, tandis que l'application du droit passe aux juges. G. DAGRON, *Lawful Society and Legitimate Power ; Έννομος πολιτεία, έννομος άρχή* (pp. 27-51), analyse les différences sémantiques entre la légitimation, qui incombe à l'empereur, et l'«*eunomia*» qui concernait les citoyens. L'empereur, source de la loi, promulguait ou supprimait les dispositions législatives, mais Dieu restait la source du droit. Marie Theres FÖGEN, *Legislation in Byzantium : A Political and a Bureaucratic Technique* (pp. 53-70), cherche les raisons qui ont incité l'activité législative et analyse les éléments composants d'une loi byzantine. J. H. A. LOKIN, *The Significance of Law and Legislation in the Law Books of the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries* (pp. 71-91), examine les passages introductifs des lois byzantines afin de faire la différence sémantique entre la notion de loi et celle de justice. Légiférer signifie dans les textes promulguer une loi, mais aussi supprimer une loi tombée en désuétude. P. MAGDALINO, *Justice and Finance in the Byzantine State, Ninth to Twelfth Centuries* (pp. 93-115), étudie le domaine de la législation byzantine en matière financière, mais aussi les institutions responsables d'appliquer cette législation. Il constate un changement radical sous Alexis I^{er} qui va de pair avec la réforme monétaire et qui va conduire à la justice du type féodal de la dernière période byzantine. R. J. MACRIDES, *The Competent Court* (pp. 117-129), part d'une remarque de l'*Ecloga Basilicorum* qui exige «un juge compétent» pour chaque affaire. Il passe en revue des institutions judiciaires et juridiques pour déterminer leur compétence en signalant aussi

l'existence des tribunaux ecclésiastiques. Ce dernier point fait l'objet de l'article de I. M. KONIDARIS, *The Ubiquity of Canon Law* (pp. 131-150), selon lequel l'Église avait sa propre législation, ses 770 canons. Les *typica* peuvent aussi être considérés comme des textes législatifs. Les tribunaux ecclésiastiques ne prononçaient toutefois pas des peines, mais des *epitimia*. Angeliki E. LAIOU, *Law, Justice, and the Byzantine Historians : Ninth to Twelfth Centuries* (pp. 151-185), remarque que les textes narratifs tantôt sont d'accord tantôt en désaccord sur la notion de la loi et de la justice avec les textes législatifs. Avant le IX^e s., législateur, loi et justice se confondaient. Puis petit à petit l'empereur se limite au rôle du législateur, tandis que l'attribution de la justice était confiée aux juges. Cela a conduit vers le XI^e s. à une professionnalisation des juges, avant la féodalité du XII^e s. G. T. DENNIS, *A Rhetorician Practices Law : Michael Psellos* (pp. 187-197), note que Psellos dans son activité débordante s'était aussi intéressé à la justice. Pour lui, un juge devait, sa formation juridique mise à part, avoir une culture très large et un sens moral bien aiguisé. A. KAZHDAN, *Some Observations on the Byzantine Concept of Law : Three Authors of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries* (pp. 199-216), compare les idées relatives à la loi et à la justice de Théodore Studite, avec celles de Psellos et de Choniates. Le premier est dominé par l'idée de l'*économie*, c'est-à-dire le respect de l'esprit et non pas de la lettre d'une loi. Le deuxième exige une justice humaine basée sur la relation personnelle entre le juge et les partis, tandis que le troisième met l'accent sur la protection légale des droits. H. MAGUIRE, *From the Evil Eye to the Eye of Justice : The Saints, Art, and Justice in Byzantium* (pp. 217-239 + 11 ill.), met l'accent sur les superstitions qui régnaient parmi le peuple et qui touchaient aussi au domaine de la justice. Des actes magiques permettant un résultat souhaité lors d'un procès n'étaient pas rares, bien qu'interdits. Ioli KALAVREZOU, *Irregular Marriages in the Eleventh Century and the Zoe and Constantine Mosaic in Hagia Sophia* (pp. 241-259 + 14 ill.), constate que l'Église était très sévère pour ceux qui transgressaient la loi et se mariaient de manière irrégulière. Les cas courants concernaient les mariages entre les membres ayant une parenté relativement étroite. Toutefois, pour les empereurs, l'Église usait de son droit à l'*économie* et accordait son pardon, surtout après avoir reçu des donations importantes.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

J. MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus. 4. Codices Cypri, Graeciae (pars altera), Hierosolymorum (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. Neue Folge, 2. Reihe : Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz. Im Auftrag der Görres-Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Justin Mossay und Martin Sicherl, 11. Band)*, Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 1995, 246 pages. ISBN 3-506-79011-0.

Comme son titre l'indique, ce quatrième volume du répertoire de la transmission des œuvres de Grégoire de Nazianze, concerne les manuscrits cypriotes, hiérosolymites et grecs. Concernant Chypre, est mentionné le seul manuscrit conservé dans la bibliothèque de l'archevêché cypriote à Nicosie. Du côté grec, sont examinés les manuscrits conservés à Amorgos (n. 2-3), à Andros (n. 4-8) à Cephallonie (n. 221), à Dimitsana (n. 222), à Grevéna (n. 223-228), à Almyros (n. 229), à Cos (n. 230), à Lesbos (n. 231-243), à Naoussa (n. 244), à la bibliothèque de la Société Littéraire Parnasse à Athènes (n. 245), à Patras (n. 246), à Thessalonique (n. 247-253) et à Zagora (n. 254). Plusieurs manuscrits sont conservés dans les monastères athonites et notamment au Protaton (n. 9-11), à Vatopedi (n. 12-52), à Grégoriou (n. 53-55), à Dionysiou (n. 56-66), à Docheiariou (n. 67-77), à Esphigmenou (n. 78-87), à Zographou (n. 88), à Iviron (n. 89-108), à Karakalou (n. 109-112), à Koutloumousiou (n. 113-135), à Kastamonitou (n. 136), à la Grande Laura (n. 137-186), à Xenophontos (n. 187), à Xiropotamou (n. 188-189), à Panteleïmonos (n. 190-195), à Stauronikita (n. 209-213) et à Philothéou (n. 214-220). En outre sous les n. 291-295 sont repris les manuscrits de Kosinitza, de Serres et de Skamneli, objet des contestations que l'on sait. Pour Jérusalem, sont classés les manuscrits du St-Sépulcre (n. 255-267), de St-Saba (n. 268-286), de Ste-Croix (n. 287-289) et de la Résurrection (n. 290). Le travail de recension mis à part, ce volume contient une masse d'informations paléographiques et codicologiques.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Maria NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, *Πηγές τῆς Βαλκανικῆς Ἱστορίας. 6ος-10ος αἰ.*, Thessalonique, 1995, 93 pages.

Livre destiné aux étudiants de l'Université et futurs historiens. Sont présentées les sources les plus importantes (une vingtaine en tout), qui transmettent des informations relatives à la situation qui régnait dans les Balkans du VI^e au X^e siècle. Livre utile.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

ORTODOKSIA. OPΘOΛOΞIA, janvier-mars 1995, pp. 1-157 pages.

Dans ce numéro, signalons l'article d'I. R. TORRANCE, *Severos of Antioch's Homily 90 on the Trinity*, pp. 60-86, qui constitue une approche à la fois théologique et philologique de cette homélie de Sévère.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

A. PELENDRIDES, *George of Cyprus*, Nicosie, Theopress Ltd, 1993, 52 pages. ISBN 9963-7956-0-9.

Édition et traduction en anglais, sans prétentions scientifiques, d'une autobiographie de Georges le Cypriote. Né à Cyrénia, en 1240, Georges a fait des

études à Chypre et puis à Constantinople pour devenir Patriarche de Constantinople, sous le nom de Grégoire II, de 1283 à 1289. L'Auteur ne dit pas si ce texte a déjà connu d'autres éditions ou non.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

- I. POLEMIS, *Ὁ λόγιος Νικόλαος Λαμπηνός καὶ τὸ Ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον Β΄ Παλαιολόγον (Ἐταιρεία Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Μελετηῶν. Διπτύχων - Παράφυλλα, 4)*, Athènes, 1992, 111 pages. ISBN 960-85059-3-3.

Édition d'un discours dû à un certain Nicolas Labénos en l'honneur de l'empereur Andronic II Paléologue et connu grâce au *cod. Vindobonensis phil. gr. 165*. Au sujet de l'auteur, les historiens ne sont pas d'accord : pour les uns il s'agit du *protonotarios* Nicolas Labénos qui vivait à Constantinople en 1324/1327 ; pour les autres il s'agit d'un autre membre de la famille des Labénoi ou même de quelqu'un originaire de Labe, ville de Phrygie. Le texte fait allusion aux événements historiques, mais ne donne aucune nouvelle information au sujet de règne d'Andronic II. Il s'agit d'une pièce rhétorique, dont l'éditeur retrouve les sources historiques. Elle témoigne une maîtrise de la langue, une connaissance des règles de la rhétorique, mais n'aide pas à mieux connaître son auteur aussi peu connu. Par contre, deux lettres de Nicolas Labénos contenues dans *Vat. gr. 1696*, publiées en annexe permettent de savoir que l'expéditeur était un lettré qui a même enseigné à Constantinople

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Voce di molte acque. Miscellanea di studi offerti à Eugenio CORSINI, Turin, S. Zamorani, 1994, xxviii-622 pages + 5 planches hors texte. ISBN 88-7158-034-6.

La partie byzantine dans ce volume est représentée par trois articles. Celui de Dina MICALLELLA, *Impegno e disimpegno : Giuliano Imperatore e la letteratura* (pp. 129-140), signale que l'empereur Julien est utilisé par la littérature byzantine comme un exemple éducatif négatif ; il ne faut donc pas toujours chercher un fond historique dans les sources qui parlent de lui. E. V. MALTESE, *Il commento di Alessandro d'Afrodisia ai Sophistici Elenchi di Aristotele : un nuova testimonianza bizantina (Psell. Theol. 54,48 ss. Gautier)* (pp. 141-148), note que le commentaire concerné est déjà connu grâce aux citations d'autres auteurs, et est pour la première fois dépisté dans un manuscrit contenant les oeuvres de Psellos. Marina SCIALUGA, *Problemi grammaticali nel Peri ; paideiva' di Gemisto Pletone* (pp. 149-153), analyse certains passages de Pléton qui prouvent que si cet auteur est considéré comme le dernier des classiques, ses écrits contiennent plusieurs éléments appartenant au grec moderne.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 6-12. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, par Marie-Ange CALVET-SÉBASTI, Paris, Cerf, 1995 (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 405). 418 pages.

Les *Discours 6-12* concernent des situations vécues par Grégoire de Nazianze : relations avec son père et avec les milieux monastiques (*Discours 6*), deuils d'un frère et d'une soeur (*Discours 7 et 8*), responsabilités ecclésiastiques (*Discours 9, 10 et 12*), relations avec des dignitaires ecclésiastiques notamment avec Grégoire de Nysse (*Discours 11*). L'éditrice, docteur en philologie grecque, est ingénieur du CNRS responsable des éditions à l'Institut des Sources Chrétiennes ; elle a édité les Lettres de Firmus de Césarée (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 350) et elle a discrètement collaboré à la mise en forme et à la correction de nombreux volumes de cette collection. C'est assez dire les garanties que présente son ouvrage. Celui-ci ne s'écarte pas des règles adoptées pour l'édition des homélies grégoriennes par l'équipe des Sources Chrétiennes. Si toute édition fondée exclusivement sur la tradition grecque et négligeant les traductions orientales du Ve siècle peut paraître aujourd'hui aléatoire et provisoire, comme Mme Calvet-Sébasti le fait remarquer p. 112, ce volume-ci se distingue néanmoins par des qualités exceptionnelles. Ses apparats critiques mettent régulièrement en question le classement ancien des dix témoins choisis pour base de l'édition et l'expérience éditoriale de l'Auteur affranchit celle-ci de quelques a-priori, qui auraient pu déparer son édition. Les notes explicatives et l'apparat des sources bibliques bénéficient de l'expérience acquise au sein de l'équipe animée par M. le chanoine P. Gallay, à Lyon. Les références bibliographiques ne se limitent pas aux ouvrages publiés en France. Ses qualités placent l'ouvrage de Mme Sébasti parmi les meilleurs de la série.

J. MOSSAY.

Gregorio Nazianzeno, *Contro Giuliano l'Apostata. Oratio IV*, a cura di L. LUGARESÌ, s. l. = Florence, Nardini editore, s. d. = 1993. (*Biblioteca patristica*, 23). 256 pages.

Ce livre présente, sans appareil critique, avec une traduction italienne et des notes (p. 217-457), un texte de Grégoire de Nazianze édité par J. Bernardi (*Sources chrétiennes*, 309, Paris, 1983). Les commentaires sont généralement conformes à une imagerie traditionnelle. En effet, les copistes et les conciles byzantins ont attaché à la personne de l'empereur Julien le Philosophe l'image d'un «renégat» détestable. Songeaient-ils qu'un chrétien a le droit de se poser des questions et qu'un philosophe a le devoir de le faire, en particulier s'il est un chef d'État ? E. Stein et G. Garitte, mes prédécesseurs dans la chaire d'histoire du Bas-Empire et du monde byzantin de notre université, présentaient Julien comme «le souverain romain le plus digne d'être aimé». On regrette que les commentaires de M. L. Lugaresi s'alignent sur des traditions sans

nuances ; toutefois, on peut admirer son érudition, sans pouvoir préciser ce que celle-ci doit à la dissertation de A. Kurmann sur le même sujet (Bâle, 1988).

J. MOSSAY.

C. MORESCHINI, G. MENESTRINA ed altri, *Gregorio Nazianzeno teologo e scrittore*, a cura di , s. l. (= Bologna), EDB = Centro Editoriale Dehoniano, s. d. = 1992 (*Publicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze religiose in Trento*, 17), 252 pages.

Ce recueil groupe des exposés consacrés aux idées religieuses, spirituelles, théologiques, exégétiques, etc. de Grégoire de Nazianze (p. 1-113) et des communications d'intérêt littéraire (sur «la structure et la fonction des homélies» par C. MORESCHINI, p. 151-170 ; sur «un aspect de l'exégèse grégorienne», par M. KERTSCH, p. 103-114), ou philologique (sur «les *Épigrammes* dans l'édition de Muratori» par R. PALLA, p. 171-198, sur la survie des textes grégoriens aux VI-IX siècles par C. CRIMI, p. 199-216, et sur les commentateurs par G. MENESTRINA, p. 217-226, et E. V. MALTESE, p. 227-248). L'étude de G. MENESTRINA concerne Cosmas de Jérusalem ; elle complète, à la lumière du *cod. Vatic. Gr. 2060* celle du Prof. F. Trisoglio (cf. *II. Symposium Nazianzenum*, Paderborn, Munich, Vienne, etc., 1983) ; R. PALLA, formé par le Prof. M. Sicherl à l'étude des traditions textuelles, met en valeur l'œuvre éditoriale de Muratori.

J. MOSSAY.

J. BERNARDI, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Le théologien et son temps (330-390)*, Paris, Cerf, 1995 (*Initiation aux Pères de l'Église*). 367 pages.

Ce livre d'initiation ravira des lecteurs qui apprécient l'élégance de l'écriture. L'ouvrage situe Grégoire de Nazianze dans une fresque littéraire d'histoire du Bas-Empire superbement écrite. L'auteur, professeur en Sorbonne, y rassemble les hypothèses traditionnelles et des vues qu'il retient d'une carrière de recherche consacrée en partie au même sujet.

J. MOSSAY.

J.-M. SANSTERRE, *La parole, le texte et l'image selon les auteurs byzantins des époques iconoclaste et posticonoclaste*, extrait de *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo. 15-21 aprile 1993*, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1994 (*Settimane di Studio del Centro*, 41), pp. 197-243.

On trouve ici le texte d'une leçon importante, qui intéresse historiens, archéologues et philologues. Elle étudie les rôles respectifs accordés aux sens de la vue et de l'ouïe c'est-à-dire à l'illustration et à la lecture dans les manuscrits byzantins. Le Prof. Leslie Brubacker avait constaté que les enluminures

ont pour fonction, pour ainsi dire prioritaire, de clarifier les textes qu'elles accompagnent, que c'est particulièrement le cas dans le *Grégoire de Nazianze* de Paris (cod. *Paris. Gr.* 510) offert à l'empereur Basile I vers 879-883, dont l'illustration fut sans doute inspirée par Photius, et que cela se vérifie aussi dans d'autres manuscrits, notamment le *Grégoire de Nazianze* de l'Ambrosienne (cod. *Ambros. Gr.* E. 49/50 inf.), etc. : cf. Leslie BRUBACKER, *Politics, Patronage, and Art in the Ninth-Century Byzantium : The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (B. N. Gr. 510)*, dans *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39 (1985), p. 1-13 spécialement p. 13 et passim. De son côté, le Prof. Sansterre analyse les témoignages de nombreux auteurs qui se sont exprimés sur cette question, spécialement des textes de Théodore Studite, de Nicéphore et de Photius. Il en déduit qu'il faut relativiser les déclarations des Byzantins marquées par les polémiques relatives à l'iconoclasme, éviter de surestimer le rôle de l'image par rapport au texte lu et nuancer les conclusions du Prof. Brubacker.

Un échange de vues s'ensuit entre Leslie Brubacker et J.-M. Sansterre (p. 241-243). En conclusion, se dégage un accord entre les données de l'histoire de l'art et celles de l'analyse des textes, qui sont complémentaires.

J. MOSSAY.

Παρνασσός. Φιλολογικὸν περιοδικό, 36 (1994), Athènes, 531 pages.

Le périodique édité par l'académie «Parnassos» intéresse tous les secteurs de la culture et de l'histoire helléniques. Les études byzantines y tiennent normalement peu de place ; mais dans ce tome-ci, l'étude de P. I. PHARANTAKIS, *Les notions de «σοφία» et «ἔννοια» dans l'œuvre de Jean Climaque* (en grec, p. 132-156) retiendra l'attention des byzantinistes ; il analyse les courants sinaitiques de pensée et d'ascèse, qui évoluent depuis l'époque de Grégoire de Nazianze (p. 134, 144, 146-147, etc.) jusqu'à celle de Grégoire Palamas.

Le même tome contient aussi le texte d'une conférence faite à Athènes par J. MOSSAY et ayant pour sujet la manière dont les Grecs lisaient les manuscrits des homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze avant l'invention de l'imprimerie (en français, p. 5-16).

Voir ci-dessous la notice suivante (D. KALAMAKIS, ...).

J. MOSSAY.

D. KALAMAKIS, *Ἀγιολογικοὶ ὕμνοι ἐπωνύμων ποιητῶν*, extrait de *Παρνασσός, Φιλολογικὸν περιοδικό*, 26 (1994), p. 421-493.

Une *editio princeps* est toujours importante ; c'est particulièrement le cas lorsqu'il s'agit, comme ici, de textes populaires à travers lesquels les petites gens et les notables, clercs ou laïcs, se sont exprimés au cours des siècles byzantins. Dix séries d'hymnes religieux byzantins sont classées chronologi-

quement suivant les dates présumées de leur composition. Les auteurs des poèmes sont des moines connus sous leurs noms de religion : Georges (entre 650 et 700), Syméon, Jean et Ignace (entre 700 et 750), Étienne (entre 750 et 800), Studite (après 800), Joannikios et Paul (après l'an 900). On note une évolution chronologique des styles allant d'un contenu narratif vers des cantiques de louange et d'intercession et revenant ensuite vers les narrations hagiographiques. Cette édition est dédiée à la mémoire du Professeur N. B. Tomadakis, décédé le 24. 11. 1993.

J. MOSSAY.

A. N. ΠΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ, *Οἱ «Νόμοι τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν». Ἱεραποστολική προσέγγιση καὶ ἱστορικῆ-νομικῆ συμβολή*, Athènes et Komotini, Éd. Ant. N. Sakkoula, 1994 (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*, 7). xvi + 358 pages et deux cartes.

Les Homérites ou Hamyarites occupaient au VI^e siècle un territoire de l'Arabie Heureuse ayant Tefra pour capitale, cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie chrétienne*, II, 26, 2-9 et 27, 5-9, etc. (édit. *Sources Chrétiennes*, n° 141, p. 330 et 331). Ce peuple, sa culture et ses monuments sont principalement connus par les recherches de Gonzague Ryckmans et de Jacques Ryckmans, publiées notamment dans *Le Muséon* : cf. J. RYCKMANS, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam. Ma'in et Saba*, Louvain, 1951 (*Bibliothèque du Muséon*, 28), ainsi que par les travaux récents du Prof. Irfan Shahîd (voir ci-après). Sous le nom de «*Lois des Hamyarites*», on connaît un texte anonyme (éd. J. F. BOISSONADE = *Patrologia Græca*, 86, 1, col. 563-620), qu'on rapproche de l'oeuvre attribuée à S. Grigente, archevêque de Téfra, intitulée «*Discussion avec un Juif nommé Ervan*» (= *Patrologia Græca*, 86, 1, col. 621-784). L'authenticité du document pose des problèmes. Le texte est abordé ici sous l'angle du développement du christianisme qu'il atteste. L'auteur précise avec insistance (p. 52-53) que les aspects historiques, juridiques ou philologiques de ses recherches sont pour lui d'intérêt secondaire et que sa préoccupation principale est religieuse et ecclésiastique. Les conclusions, résumées en anglais p. 345-347, sont que le document étudié reflète une tranche de l'histoire des Hamyarites au cours de laquelle le prosélytisme chrétien exerce un pouvoir de type totalitaire imposant aux masses le baptême général par contrainte, et aux Juifs la conversion «par libre volonté».

J. MOSSAY.

I. SHAHÎD (KAWAR), *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*. I, 1. *Political and Military History* ; I, 2. *Ecclesiastical History*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995. xxx + 1030 pages en deux tomes reliés, avec des plans et avec des illustrations hors texte et un index non paginé à la fin du tome I, 2.

Après un volume traitant des Arabes dans l'Empire romain, avant le iv^e siècle (*Rome and the Arabs. A Prolegomenon...*, Washington, D.C., 1981/84), puis deux autres volumes, qui constituent la première partie d'une trilogie consacrée aux relations arabo-byzantines (*Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, Washington, D.C., 1981/84 ; *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, Washington, D.C., 1986), le Prof. I. Shahîd aborde le deuxième tableau majeur du triptyque : la tranche qui concerne le vi^e siècle. Il en publie la première partie en deux tomes. L'œuvre a mûri sur le terrain, au cours de l'année sabbatique que l'Auteur vient de passer à l'Institut américain d'Amman en Jordanie et dans d'autres contrées concernées par ses études. Byzantion vient de recevoir un exemplaire de l'ouvrage au moment de mettre sous presse ; il n'est plus possible d'y insérer un compte rendu, mais la Rédaction de la revue a tenu à signaler tout de suite la parution de ce livre aux lecteurs.

J. MOSSAY.

H. HUNGER avec la collaboration de Ch. HANNICK, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. 4. Supplementum Græcum*, Vienne, Hollinek, 1994 (*Museion* : N.F. 4. Reihe, 1, 4). xviii + 422 pages.

On connaît la perfection des catalogues de manuscrits grecs déjà publiés par le Professeur H. Hunger ; ceux-ci servent de modèles aux catalogages modernes. Grâce au catalogue du Fonds du Supplementum Græcum, la Bibliothèque nationale autrichienne (environ 1000 manuscrits) possède le catalogue moderne complet de tous ses fonds grecs. Le Professeur H. Hunger entreprit ce travail immense en 1947 ; pour le mener à terme, il fallait posséder les compétences de ce philologue exceptionnel dans les domaines du grec classique, byzantin, post-byzantin et moderne. Le Professeur Ch. Hannick s'est chargé du catalogage des pièces musicales. Les notes relatives à l'origine et à l'histoire des manuscrits récemment entrés dans le fonds catalogué fournissent en outre des détails sur le développement récent de la bibliothèque.

Les Byzantinistes, philologues, historiens, archéologues et historiens de l'art et de la musique utiliseront longtemps comme instruments de recherche ces catalogues de Vienne. Byzantion exprime aux auteurs de ceux-ci la gratitude des chercheurs.

J. MOSSAY.

Bj. SCHARTAU, *Codices Græci Haunienses. Ein descriptiver Katalog des griechischen Handschriftenbestandes der Königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen. Mit zwei Appendices von E. PATERSEN*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press, 1994 (*Danish Humanist Texts and Studies*, 9). 605 pages + 40 illustrations hors texte.

En attendant l'ouverture du prochain Congrès international des études byzantines à Copenhague, en 1996, la Bibliothèque Royale du Danemark s'est dotée d'un catalogue détaillé d'environ 170 manuscrits grecs datés du x^e au xix^e siècle. Les notices se conforment au système adopté par le Professeur H. Hunger dans les derniers volumes du *Wiener Katalog* (cf. p. 30, 33, etc.) ; on y ajoute des détails inspirés par les études de K. Houlis sur la technique des reliures byzantines (cf. C. FEDERICI et K. HOULIS, Rome, 1988 ; p. 34, Bj. Schartau note cependant qu'il traite ces travaux «cum grano salis»). Comme les catalogues viennois, celui-ci est rédigé en allemand ; il arrive donc souvent qu'une même notice associe le grec et l'allemand au latin, qui reste forcément une langue essentielle de la spécialité.

Après usage du catalogue, trois éléments me paraissent particulièrement remarquables : 1^o l'index analytique unique (*Autoren- und Sachregister*, p. 543-613), 2^o les 40 fac-similés, 3^o les appendices de E. Petersen, qui concernent deux fonds particuliers incorporés dans la collection des Haunienses Græci, celui des Gottorpienses Græci (p. 473-488) et celui des «fontes Fabriciani ad manuscriptos græcos» (p. 489-542). Il n'est peut-être pas impertinent de suggérer aux utilisateurs du catalogue de commencer par lire les appendices spécialement les pages 489-493, relatives à la bibliothèque de J. A. Fabricius. En effet, les classements en usage à Copenhague sont tributaires de traditions remontant au xviii^e siècle ; en combinant les rangements par fonds, par numéros, par formats, etc. (cf. p. 489-492), des habitudes ont été prises qui compliquent les repérages. L'éclairage fourni par E. Petersen permet de s'y retrouver aisément dans les cas où la table des matières du catalogue n'élimine pas les hésitations de l'utilisateur.

J. MOSSAY.

Angélique SKARBELI-NIKOLOPOULOU, *Tà μαθηματάρια τῶν ἐλληνικῶν σχολείων τῆς τουρκοκρατείας. Διδασκόμενα κείμενα, σχολικὰ προγράμματα, διδακτικὲς μέθοδοι. Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία τῆς νεοελληνικῆς παιδείας*, Dissertation doctorale, Athènes, 1993 (*Σύλλογος πρὸς διάδοσιν Ὁφελίμων Βιβλίων*). 959 pages et 12 fac-similés hors texte.

Les mathémataires sont des manuscrits tardifs employés par les maîtres et les élèves des écoles de tout niveau ; les textes classiques et post-classiques expliqués dans les écoles y sont transcrits d'une manière particulière caractérisée par de très larges interlignes permettant d'y insérer des notes supralinéaires.

L'objet de cette dissertation sort du champ des études byzantines, puisqu'il s'agit des écoles de la période métabyzantine ; toutefois cette enquête vaste et minutieuse éclaire la survie de la pédagogie et de la paléographie byzantines.

J. MOSSAY.

A. SIDERAS, *Die byzantinische Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Ueberlieferung. 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend*, Wien, Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994 (*Wiener byzantinische Studien*, 19). 536 pages. En annexe *Textedition. Die erste Grabrede des Kardinal Bessarion auf Theodora Komnene, Gattin des Kaisers von Trapezunt Alexios IV, Megas Komnenos*, p. 529-536.

Le 17 novembre 1993, le Professeur H. Hunger présentait à ses confrères de l'Académie de Vienne cet ouvrage qui complète par des explications, notes et index une édition de 142 textes avec traduction allemande en regard ; c'est l'*Habilitationschrift* présentée par l'Auteur au jury des sciences historiques et philologiques de l'université de Göttingen, en 1982. Les 142 textes sont classés chronologiquement en deux catégories : les textes d'auteurs connus soit 5 auteurs de la période du ^{vi}e au ^xe siècle, 16 de la période du ^{xi}e-^{xii}e (parmi lesquels Psellos, auteur de 25 éloges funèbres connus), 34 de la période du ^{xiii}e au ^{xv}e siècle et 14 textes anonymes. Pour chaque pièce, l'auteur examine spécialement les données concernant le ou les destinataires, les sources, les éditions, etc. On le voit, cette masse de renseignements érudits groupés en un volume ouvre des voies d'investigation et d'accès vers une tranche importante et originale de la rhétorique et de l'histoire littéraire du monde byzantin.

J. MOSSAY.

Bessarione e l'Umanesimo. Catalogo della mostra, a cura di G. FIACCADORI, con la collaborazione di A. CUNA, A. GATTI, S. RICCI. Presentazione di M. ZORZI. Prefazione di G. P. CARRATELLI, Naples, Vivarium, 1994 (*Istituto italiano per li studi filosofici. Saggio e ricerche*, 1. *Biblioteca Marciana*). xvi + 548 (= 1-544) + 20 (= 1-20), illustré en n./bl. et en couleur.

Deux ouvrages disparates sont groupés dans ce volume : un recueil d'articles savants et un catalogue d'exposition. L'unité de l'ensemble est assurée par le centre d'intérêt commun, qui est la personne de Bessarion, et par la présentation, qui est luxueuse de bout en bout. Les articles qui constituent la première partie concernent la personne du cardinal, sa carrière, ses activités culturelles, politiques, religieuses et profanes ; la seconde est le catalogue d'une exposition consacrée à Bessarion et à son époque ouverte dans la Bibliothèque Marcienne, du 27 avril au 31 mai 1994. Une annexe de 20 pages en plusieurs langues est consacrée à des activités de l'Institut italien d'études philosophiques. L'histoire et les institutions de Byzance tiennent une grande place dans les articles de la première partie, notamment dans celui du professeur M. ZORZI, *Cenni sulla vita e sulla figura di Bessarione* (p. 1-19), dans celui de G. F. FIACCADORI, *La tradizione bizantina, l'Oriente greco, l'Italia meridionale* (p. 21-32) et dans plusieurs autres traitant de la jeunesse de Bessarion (p. 33-66) ou du rôle qu'il a joué au concile de Ferrare et Florence, en 1438-1439 (p. 67-78).

Parmi les nombreuses illustrations en noir et blanc et en couleur, on remarque les portraits de nombreux lettrés byzantins ayant émigré en Italie à la suite des désastres successifs du ^{xv}^e siècle. Le catalogue (129 photos) présente 123 fac-similés de manuscrits grecs ou latins appartenant à la bibliothèque Saint-Marc et à d'autres bibliothèques italiennes ; ces fac-similés sont de haute qualité (cf. l'article de la regrettée Prof. Lotte Labowsky, *Per l'iconografia del Cardinale Bessarione*, p. 284-288). Les qualités artistiques de l'illustration ne doivent pas masquer la valeur scientifique de cette somme des études bessarioniennes, ni la richesse de la bibliographie, qui s'est considérablement développée au cours des deux dernières décennies.

J. MOSSAY.

K. H. UTHEMANN, *Ein Enkomion zum Fest des Heiligen Paulus am 28. Dezember. Edition des Textes (CPG 4850) mit Einleitung*, extrait des *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 60 = *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii* (1994), p. 103-134.

Le texte édité (= 235 lignes, p. 126-134) est tiré du cod. *Paris. Gr. 1447*, daté du ^x^e siècle par l'éditeur ; ce dernier y trouve les reflets de la rhétorique asianique à la mode au ^v^e siècle (p. 125). Une introduction historique fait le point des recherches relatives à l'histoire du culte des SS. Pierre et Paul, et aux origines du cycle liturgique de la Nativité (p. 104-120).

J. MOSSAY.

K. H. UTHEMANN, *Eine christliche Diatribe über Armut und Reichtum (CPG 4969). Handschriftliche Ueberlieferung und kritische Edition*, extrait de *Vigiliae Christianae*, 48 / 3 (1994), pp. 235-290.

Le Professeur Uthemann édite (*editio princeps*) un texte pseudo-chrysostomien, qui est sans doute du ^{iv}^e ou du ^v^e siècle (p. 235), attesté par une dizaine de témoins byzantins, dont deux manuscrits datés du ^x^e siècle. L'éditeur établit un stemma complexe des témoins (p. 258). Il corrige des erreurs de copie et des interpolations remontant à l'archétype ; son appareil critique est très développé. Une note exceptionnelle de la Rédaction de la revue présente ce travail comme «extraordinary article» «interesting to the readers as a specimen».

J. MOSSAY.

K. M. FOUSKAS, *Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰσιδωρος Πηλουσιώτης μὲ εἰδικὴ ἀναφορὰ στὴ χρῆση καὶ ἐρμηνεία τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης*, Athènes, chez l'Auteur, 1994. 390 pages.

Isidore de Pélouse vécut sans doute en Égypte, au début du ^v^e siècle. En 1961, le Rév. K. M. Phouskas lui a consacré un mémoire présenté à l'université de Glasgow. Cette dissertation, mise à jour, intéressera des théologiens.

J. MOSSAY.

K. M. FOUSKAS, *Ὁ Νικόλαος Μεθώνης καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ περὶ θείας εὐχαριστίας*, Athènes, Edition Συμμετρία, 1995. 151 pages

Nicolas de Méthone est un écrivain contemporain de l'empereur Manuel Comnène (1143-1180).

J. MOSSAY.

M. KERTSCH, *Gregor von Nazianz und Johannes Chrysostomus bei Nilus dem Asketen*, extrait de *Grazer Beiträge*, 19 (1992), pp. 149-153.

En mettant en parallèle deux passages de Grégoire de Nazianze et un autre de Jean Chrysostome avec trois extraits des lettres de Nil d'Ancyre, on constate que les *Lettres* de ce dernier (PG 79) sont des exercices littéraires ... «als rhetorische Progymnasmata zur Vermittlung ethischer und dogmatischer Inhalte darstellen» (p. 153).

J. MOSSAY.

B. CROKE, *The Chronicle of Marcellinus. A Translation and Commentary* (with a reproduction of Mommsen's edition of the text), (*Byzantina Australiensia*, 7), Sydney, Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, xxvii + 152 pages.

La *Chronique* du comte Marcellinus, rédigée à Constantinople, couvre les années 378-534, et est suivie d'une continuation anonyme allant jusqu'à l'année 548. De composition annalistique (datation par indictions et consulats), l'œuvre est consacrée essentiellement à la ville de Constantinople, et est aussi une source importante pour l'histoire des campagnes des Huns, des Ostrogoths et des Bulgares. Marcellinus est l'un des premiers à avoir exprimé l'idée de la chute de Rome en 476 (cfr B. CROKE, dans *Chiron*, 13 [1983], p. 81-119). Le texte latin de l'édition de Th. Mommsen (1894) est reproduit et muni d'une traduction anglaise et d'un commentaire détaillé, basé principalement sur la bibliographie en langue anglaise. Une introduction, présentant l'auteur et le texte, et un index complètent utilement l'ouvrage.

B. COULIE.

Ashkharhatsoyts (Ašxarhac'oyc'). *The Seventh Century Geography Attributed to Ananias of Shirak. A Facsimile Reproduction...*, and with an Introduction by HEWSEN R. H. (*Classical Armenian Texts*), Delmar, NY, Caravan Books, 1994. ISBN 0-88206-083-X.

L'œuvre arménienne intitulée simplement *Ašxarhac'oyc'* (*Géographie*) est conservée dans deux versions, une longue (un seul manuscrit) et une brève (55 manuscrits). Spécialiste de la géographie historique de l'Arménie, R. H. Hewsen est familier de ces textes, et la présentation qu'il en donne ici est

claire et précise. Son introduction aborde les questions d'authenticité, de sources et de datation : l'œuvre est attribuée à Anania de Shirak (env. 595-670) ; œuvre de géographie descriptive dans le genre de Strabon et de Pline, l'*Ašxarhac'oyc'* exploite, d'une part, des documents administratifs et fiscaux au VII^e s., et, d'autre part, l'œuvre de Pappus d'Alexandrie. Lorsque l'auteur aborde les régions du Caucase et l'Empire perse, il abandonne ses sources classiques au profit d'une description de première main, basée sur des sources locales. Les informations présentées décrivent une situation postérieure au traité de l'empereur byzantin Maurice avec les Perses (591), mais antérieure à la destruction de l'Empire perse par les Arabes (636). R. H. Hewsen fournit ensuite, d'abord un fac-similé de l'édition de Venise (1881) de la version longue, puis une reproduction de ce même texte dans le témoin unique Erevan, Matenadaran, cod. 1245, enfin un fac-similé de l'édition de Erevan (1944) de la version brève.

B. COULIE.

OUVRAGES REÇUS

- Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica. Speculum Regis*, Szeged, 26 (1994), 83 pages + 5 planches hors texte. ISBN 963-482-045-X.
- Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐρεύνης τῆς Ἱστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Δικαίου, 31 (1995), XLVI + 248 pages.
- M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, Cambridge, University Press, 1995, VIII + 604 pages. ISBN 0-521-26432-4.
- Atti del V simposio di Efeso su S. Giovanni Apostolo (= Turchia : la Chiesa e la sua storia, VIII)*, éd. L. PADOVESE, Rome, Istituto Francese di Spiritualità Pontificio Ateneo Antoniano, 1995, VI + 243 pages.
- B. S. BACHRACH, *The Anatomy of a Little War. A Diplomatic and Military History of the Gundvald Affair (568-586)*, Boulder, San Francisco et Oxford, Westview Press, 1994, XIV + 283 pages.
- N. BAGLINI, *Ammianaea (+ Saggi e Testi Classici, Cristiani e Medievali, 9)*, Catane, Centro di Studi sull'Antico Cristianesimo. Università di Catania, 1995, 292 pages.
- G. BETTS, *Three Medieval Greek Romances : Velthandros and Chrysandza, Kallimachos and Chrysorroi, Livistros and Rodamni (The Garland Library of Medieval Literature, vol. 98, sér. B)*, New York et Londres, Garland Publishing, 1995, XXXVII + 192 pages.
- G. BOROVILOS, *Παράδοσι καὶ ἀνανέωσι κατὰ τὸν ΙΗ' αἰῶνα. Ἡ περὶ τῶν κολλύβων ἔρις καὶ ὁ διαφωτισμός*, extrait de *Παράδοσι καὶ Πρόοδος στὴν Ὁρθοδοξία*, Athènes, 1994, pp. 175-187.
- B. I. BOJović, *L'idéologie monarchique dans les hagio-biographies dynastiques du moyen âge serbe (= Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 248)*, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995, LII + 727 pages.
- ΒΟΥΚΟΛΕΙΑ. *Mélanges offerts à Bertrand BOUVIER*, Genève, Belles-Lettres, 1995, 474 pages.
- L. BURGMANN, Marie Theresa FÖGEN, A. SCHMINCK, D. SIMON, *Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts. Teil I : Die Handschriften des weltlichen Rechts (= Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, 20)*, Francfort, Löwenklau Gesellschaft, 1995, XXIX + 466 pages. ISBN 3-923615-15-9.

- Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt WEITZMANN*, éd. Doula MOURIKI, S. ĆURČIĆ, G. GALAVARIS, H. L. KESSLER, G. VIKAN, Princeton, Department of Art and Archaeology Princeton University, 1995, XLIX + 697 pages. ISBN 0-691-04339-6.
- Byzantine Magic*, éd. H. MAGUIRE, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995, 187 pages. ISBN 0-88402-230-7.
- Classica et Mediaevalia. Revue danoise de Philologie et d'histoire*, 45 (1994), 286 pages.
- Constantinople and its Hinterland. Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993* (= *Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications* 3), éd. C. MANGO et G. DAGRON assistés par G. GREATREX, s.l., Variorum, 1995, XI + 425 pages.
- B. CROKE, *The Chronicle of Marcellinus. Translation and Commentary* (= *Byzantina Australiensia*, 7), Sydney, Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1995, XVIII + 202 pages. ISBN 0-9593626-6-5 ; ISSN 0-725-3079.
- Carolina CUPANE, Elisabeth SCHIFFER et E. KISLINGER, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. Indices. Teil 1 und 2 : Indices zu den Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315-1350* (= *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, XIX.2), Vienne, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995, 352 pages. ISBN 3-7001-2122-9.
- Carolina CUPANE, cf. H. HUNGER.
- A. DAVIDS, *The Empress Theophano. Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, Cambridge, University Press, 1995, XVI + 344 pages. ISBN 0-521-45296-1.
- W. DAVIES et P. FOURACRE, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge, University Press, 1995, XIV + 322 pages. ISBN 0-521-43419-X.
- R. DELMAIRE, *Les institutions du Bas-empire romain de Constantin à Justinien. I : Les institutions civiles palatines*, Collection : *Initiations au christianisme ancien*, Paris, Cerf - CNRS, 1995, 202 pages. ISBN 2-271-05324-2 (CNRS) et 2-204-05052-0 (Cerf).
- W. DELUGA, *Les gravures orthodoxes et gréco-catholiques de la République polonaise des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, extrait de *Revue des Études slaves*, 66 (1994), pp. 267-284.
- Th. DETORAKIS, *Βυζαντινή φιλολογία. Τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τὰ κείμενα*, I^{er} vol. : *Προβυζαντινοὶ καὶ Πρωτοβυζαντινοὶ χρόνοι (περ. 150-527 μ. Χ.)*, Héraclion, Detorakis, 1995, 574 pages. ISBN 960-90199-1-9.
- A. DUBREUCQ, *JONAS D'ORLÉANS, Le métier de roi (De institutione regia). Introduction, Texte critique, Traduction, Notes et Index* (= *Sources Chrétiennes*, n° 407), Paris, Cerf, 1995, 304 pages.
- Yvette DUVAL, *Lambèse chrétienne. La gloire et l'oubli. De la Numidie romaine à l'Ifrîqiya* (= *Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Sér. Antiquité*, 144), Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1995, 215 pages.

- Erytheia. Revista de estudios bizantinos y neogriegos*, 16 (1995), 232 pages.
- P. ÉVIEUX, *Isidore de Péluse* (= *Théologie Historique*, 99), Paris, Beauchesne, 1995, xxvii + 444 pages. ISBN 2-7010-1301-1.
- M. FEATHERSTONE, cf. G. NEDUNGATT.
- ΦΙΛΟΦΡΟΝΗΣΙΣ für Norbert BROX (= *Grazer Theologische Studien*, 19), éd. J. B. BAUER, Graz, RM-Druck & Verlagsges, 1995, 227 pages. ISBN 3-900797-19-6.
- J. FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187*, Cambridge, University Press, 1995, xxiii + 672 pages. ISBN 0-521-45383-6.
- É. FOUILLOUX, *La collection «Sources Chrétiennes». Éditer les Pères de l'Église au XX^e siècle*, Paris, Cerf, 1995, iv + 238 pages.
- P. FOURACRE, cf. W. DAVIES.
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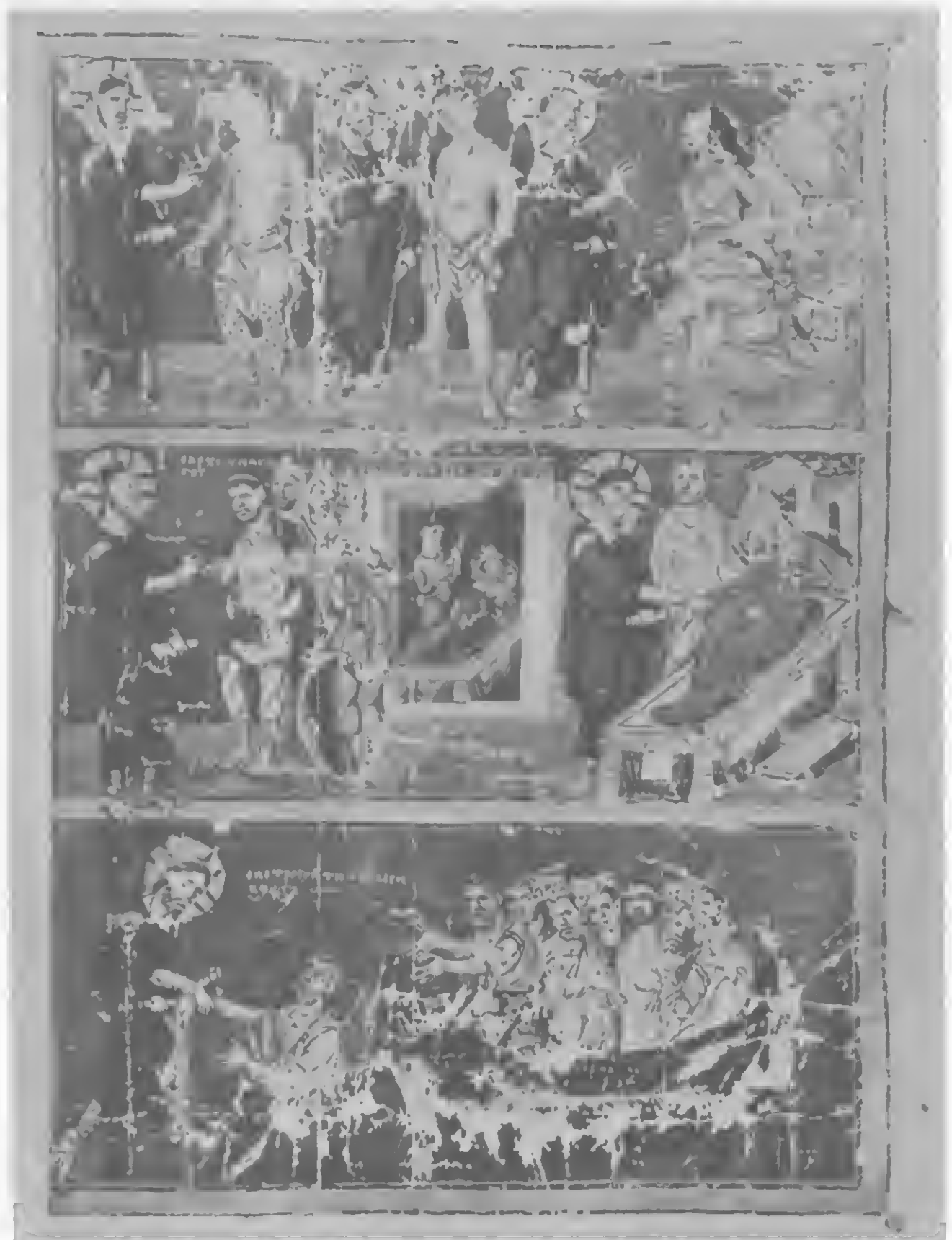
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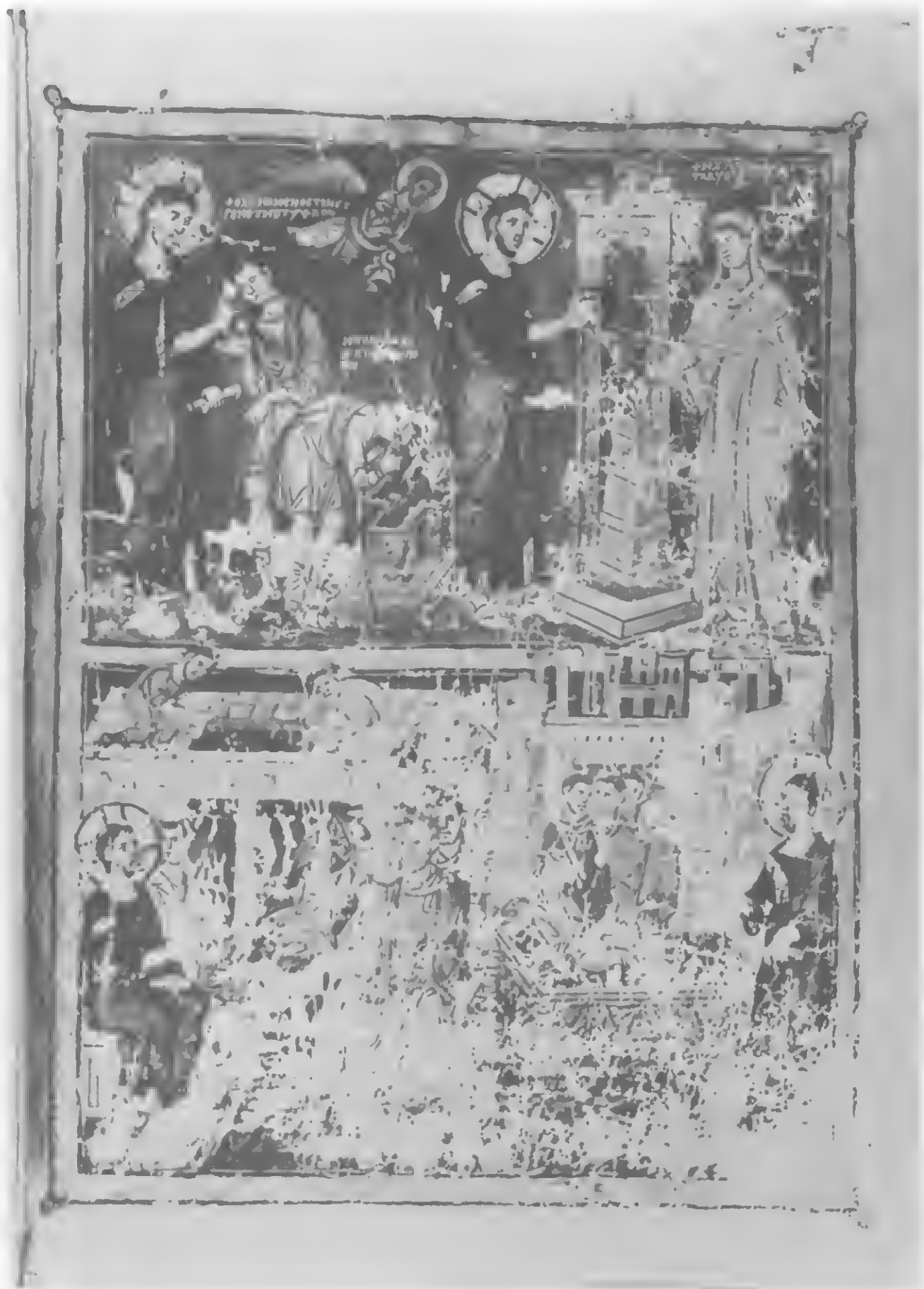
1. — Crucifixion ; deposition and entombment ; chairete. *Paris. gr. 510, f. 30v*
(photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).



2. — Jeremiah raised from the pit and the penitence of David ; the parable of the Good Samaritan ; healings of the paralytic at Bethesda and the woman with the issue of blood, the raising of Jairus's daughter. *Paris. gr. 510, f. 143v* (photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).



3. — Healings of the leper, the hydrophobic, and the demoniacs ; healings of the centurion's servant and Peter's mother-in-law ; Christ walks on water. *Paris. gr. 510, f. 170r* (photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).



5. — Healing at Siloam and parable of the widow's mite ; healing at Capernaum and raising the widow's son at Nain. *Paris. gr. 510, f. 316r* (photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).



FIG. 1. — L'église du Sauveur à Lagami (Haute Svanéthie).



FIG. 3. — Saint Théodore. Première moitié du x^e s.
Église inférieure à Lagami.



FIG. 2. — Saint Georges. Première moitié du x^e s.
Église inférieure à Lagami.



FIG 5. — Sainte Barbe. Première moitié du x^e s.
Église inférieure à Lagami.

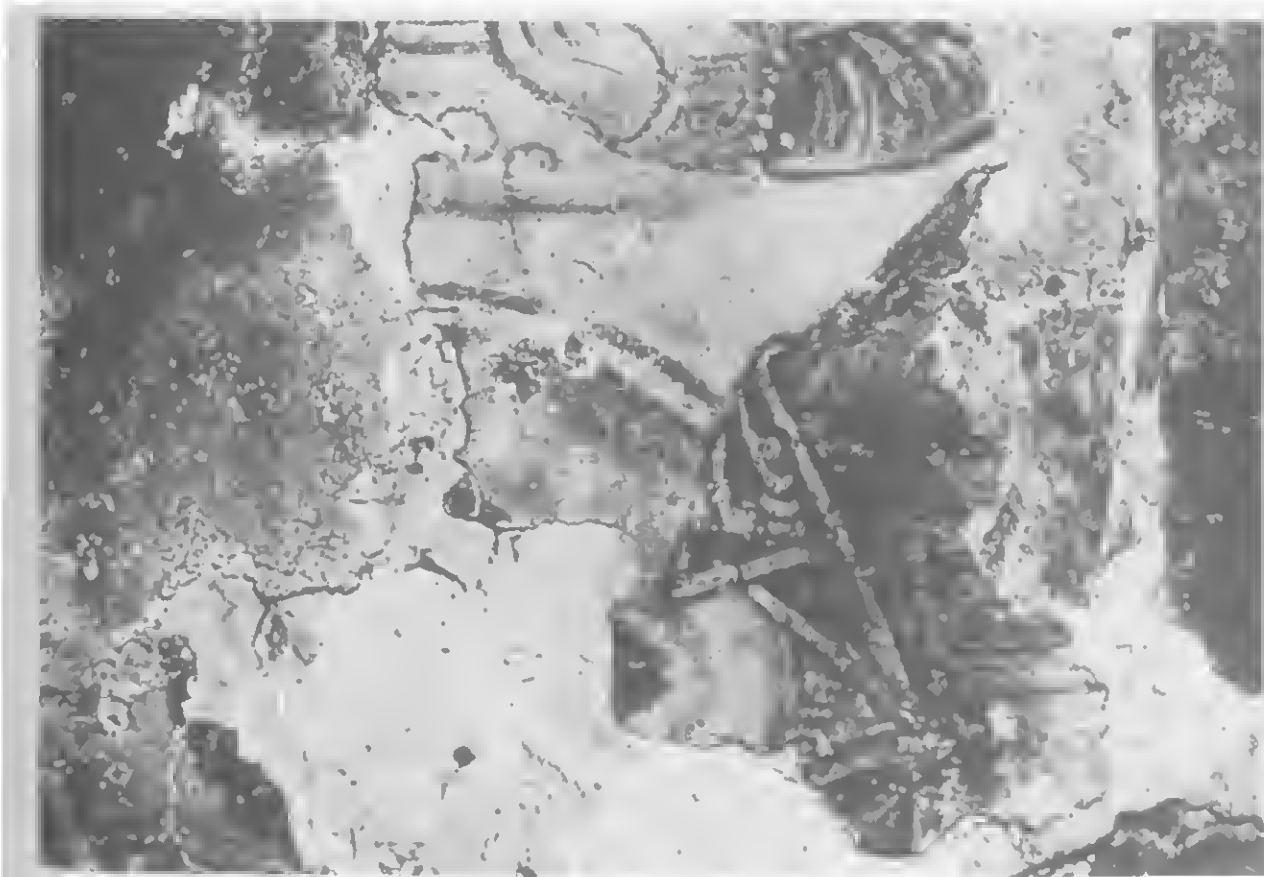


FIG. 4. — Saint Arteme. Première moitié du x^e s.
Église inférieure à Lagami.



FIG. 7. — Modèle de l'église. Fragment de fresque.
Première moitié du x^e s. Église inférieure à Lagami.



FIG. 6. — Fragment de fresque. Première moitié du x^e s.
Église inférieure à Lagami.



FIG. 8. — Saint Luc. Début du ^x^e s.
Évangile de l'Ermitage de S. André à l'Athos, cod. 5
(à la bibliothèque de l'Université de Princeton, Garret. 6).



FIG. 9. — Les Mages. Fragment de la scène «Adoration des Mages». 913-920.
L'ancienne église de Tocali.



FIG. 10. — Un Archange. Début du x^e s. Kiliçlar kilise.



FIG. 1. — General view of the kitchen complex at the ruins of Khirbet ed-Deir, facing west.



FIG. 2. — Granary at Khirbet ed-Deir, facing south.

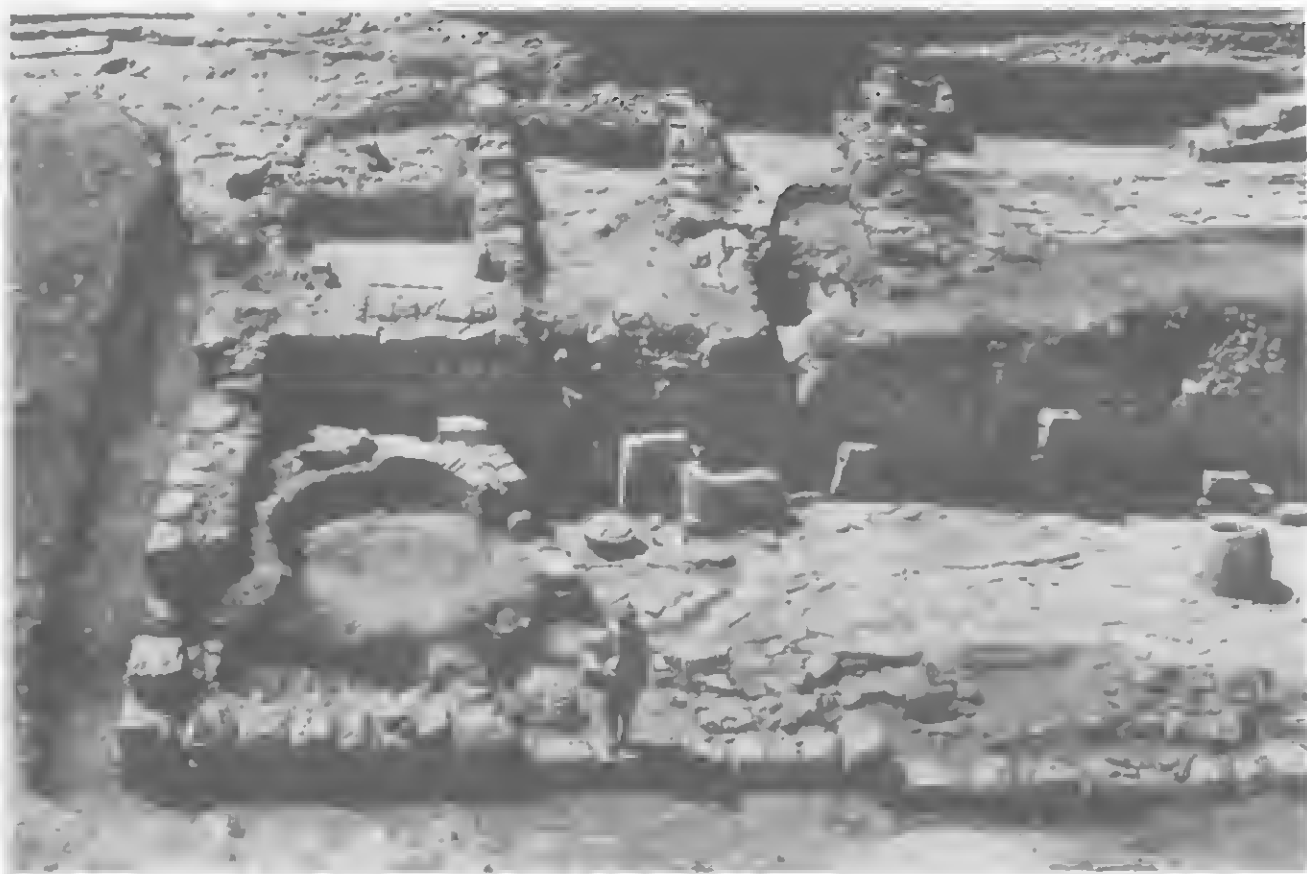


FIG. 3. — Oven at Khirbet ed-Deir, facing west.



FIG. 4. — Oven at Khirbet ed-Deir, facing south.

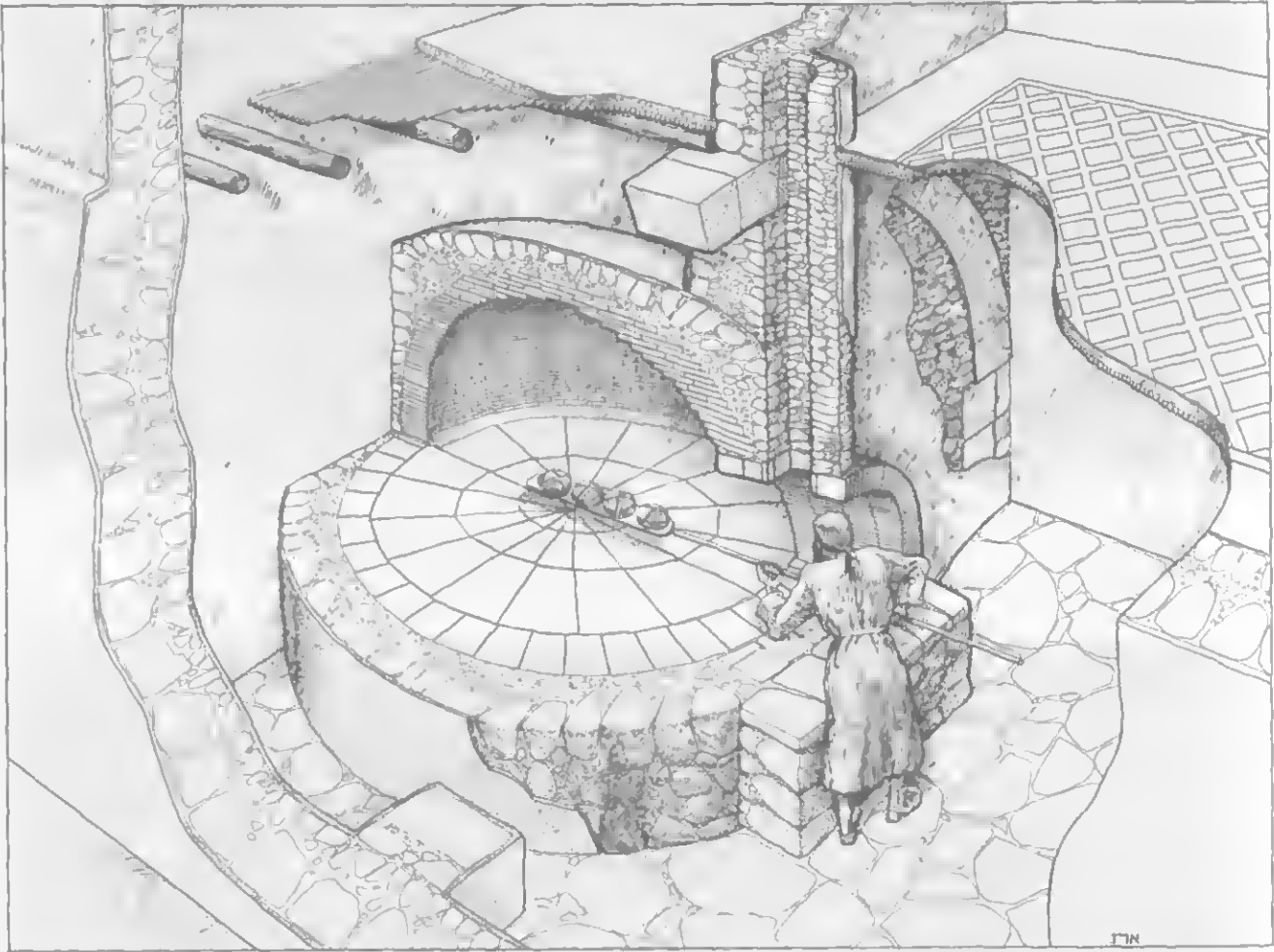


FIG. 5. — Reconstruction of the oven at Khirbet ed-Deir
(Sketch by Erez Cohen).



FIG. 6. — Recent oven at the monastery of Choziba (St. George Monastery), Wadi Kelt, facing west.

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